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THE

WORLD ENCOMPASSED

BY

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios.

COLLATED WITH AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT OF

FRANCIS FLETCHER,

CHAPLAIN TO THE EXPEDITION.

WITH APPENDICES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SAME VOYAGE,

AND

Introduction,

BY

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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The Hakluyt Society.

THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

M.DCCC.LIV.

VERA TOTIVS EXPEDITIONIS NAVTICÆ

Descriptio D. Franc. Draci qui 5 navibus probè instructis, ex Anglia solvens 15 Decembris anno 1577. terrarum orbis ambitum circumnavigans, unica tantum navi, ingenti cum gloria, ceteris partim flammis, partim fluctibus correptis, in Angliam rediit 27 Septembris 1580. ADDITA *est etiam viva delineatio navigationis Thomæ Caundish nobilis Angli, qui eundem Draci cursum ferè tenuit etiam ex Anglia per universum orbem; sed minori damno & temporis spacio: vigesimo primo enim Iulij 1586 navem conscendit, & decimo quinto Septembris 1588 in patria portum Plimouth, undè prius exierat magnis divitijs & cum omnium admiratione reversus est.* Iudocus Hondius.

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INTRODUCTION.

The maritime adventures of Sir Francis Drake have ever been a theme of much popularity in England, and it is probable, that till a recent period of our history, no English Admiral has filled so large a place in the admiring eyes of his countrymen.

Nor is this admiration, in itself, a matter for wonder. The deeds of individual daring which he had himself performed; his conflicts with and expeditions against the Spaniards—a people, at the period in which he lived, in the popular belief at least, England's most deadly and unappeasable enemies; his voyage round the world,—the first in an English ship; and, last of all, the efficient part which he played in the greatest achievement of Elizabeth's reign—the destruction of the Spanish Armada,—all served to make him the most distinguished naval hero which a nation of sailors had as yet produced.

Nor were these the only reasons which naturally tended to make Drake a marked man. The times in which he lived were eminently suited for bringing into prominent notice those abilities which he possessed in so remarkable a degree. Then it was, that

for the first time in English history, ample scope was given for the exertions of the English navy; distant expeditions being then, for the first time, fitted out, in great measure from private resources, though in some degree with the countenance, or at least tacit consent, of the Queen's government. Previous, indeed, to the reign of Elizabeth, the naval history of England can boast of few achievements beyond our own seas and their adjacent shores.

The causes which led to this great outburst of naval enterprise are easily traceable, and were doubtless in some measure due, to the state of undisguised hostility between the people of England and the subjects of Philip of Spain, which gradually arose during the first years of the reign of Elizabeth: an hostility which, without amounting to actual warfare between the two countries, in many cases indirectly influenced, in others was the real motive of the actions of those Englishmen, who, like Drake and many other adventurers of his day, pursued their path to fame upon the great waters.

It is so important to the correct appreciation of Drake's personal character, and to a fair judgment of his personal history, as developed in the voyage we are now editing and in others which have been previously published, that we shall pause for a few moments to consider, in some detail, the course of the history of England and Spain for the few years immediately preceding 1577, the date of the commencement of this voyage.

Now it is perfectly clear that, at the close of Mary's

reign, the international enmity, which a few years later so entirely possessed the English and Spanish people, had not as yet arisen. English and Spanish forces cooperated against the French at the battle of St. Quentin,—the Pope congratulated the French king on the fall of Calais and the humiliation of Queen Mary,—and when, a short time subsequently, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England and refused to marry Philip because he was a Roman Catholic, the Spanish monarch, so far from showing any ill will to her, demanded of the French the restoration of Calais to England, on the ground that the war in which that fortress had fallen, had been mainly undertaken by England on his account. Nor, indeed, had Elizabeth at that time any hostile feelings against Spain. She well knew that her real enemy was Henry II of France, who had attempted, on the death of Mary, to place the Queen of Scots on the English throne, while Philip was no less sensible of the advantage that would accrue to him from the weight of England's assistance against the aggrandizement of France.

Still later, when, on the death of Francis II, the political ties between England and Spain were materially shaken, Elizabeth pursued an even course of public neutrality, promising, and subsequently, in 1573, fulfilling her promise, to restore to the Duke of Alva certain moneys which, in 1568, had been detained in England on the suspicion that they were not really, as had been averred, the property of the Spanish government: while, about the same time,

we find her issuing proclamations against those privateers which, from English ports, had plundered the ships of Spain, in retaliation for the seizure by the Duke of Alva of the goods of English subjects resident in the Low Countries.

Again, when the Spanish ambassador complained that privateers belonging to the Netherlands were harboured in English ports, the Queen immediately allowed the justice of the complaint, and the Netherlanders were compelled to quit the English harbours; though, at the same time, she refused to permit English sailors to serve in the Spanish fleet against the Netherlanders, to allow other ships belonging to the Low Countries to attack the Spaniards from her own ports, or to give up to the Duke of Alva those emigrants who had fled for refuge to England.

Still more remarkably was this desire to play a neutral, yet, at the same time, an independent part, exhibited in the Queen's famous defence of Drake himself, from the charge of having brought home a large amount of treasure, the plunder of the subjects of the King of Spain. The Queen replied with dignity, that if Drake had committed aught against the laws, he should be forthcoming whenever called upon; and that the property he had brought to England was set apart, and should be restored to any just and well proven claimants. Indeed, of the money which Drake had amassed, some portion was actually repaid to Don Pedro Sebura, who acted as agent for the parties interested; but who, nevertheless, it is said by Camden, never himself gave it back to the rightful owners.

But though the Queen did her utmost to ward off an open rupture with Spain, she must have early foreseen that the injuries inflicted on her merchantmen, of which abundant instances were known; the intolerance the Spaniards exhibited in excluding from their trade all who were not Roman Catholics, the extravagant claims they founded on the Papal grant to them of the Western Hemisphere, and, above all, the excess of cruelty with which they attempted to enforce these extraordinary pretensions, must sooner or later have ended in open warfare. Hence the encouragement she gave, tacitly at first, afterwards more openly, to those adventurers, who promised by their courage or their success to extend the naval renown of their country: and hence, too, the bold assertion of prerogative in her reply to the Spanish ambassador, that she could not recognize the Pope's claim to enfeoff Spain with the lordship of the Indies, or permit the Spaniards to interfere with her sending colonies or trading to whatever part of the world she pleased.

There can be little doubt that it was the insolent behaviour of the Spaniards, and the neglect of the Spanish government to punish effectively the misdeeds of its subjects, which in the first instance created the privateering spirit which arose among the English sailors: while the continuance of the same causes during many years, affords, perhaps, the best excuse that can be offered for the general practices or the individual acts of many of the adventurers who preceded, or were contemporary with Drake himself. The unsettled state of the relations between the

two countries,—the decision of the Inquisition that all heretics whom it could reach were amenable to its laws,—the frequent confiscation of English property, and the imprisonment and ill-usage of English subjects, tended naturally to confound the ideas of right and wrong in the minds of these adventurers; while the deeds of Drake, and of others who went far further than he did, appeared to the actors themselves but just retaliation for the iniquities perpetrated on others by the Spanish flag. They forgot, in the warmth of their indignation, that their reprisal on private persons and unoffending parties, was neither an adequate nor a just retribution for the injuries which had been inflicted by the agents of the King of Spain; and that the great bulk of the Spanish people knew nothing at all of the grievances and losses to which the English traders had been subjected, and which might have been some justification for such buccaneering expeditions, had they been directed against the ships or the property of the Spanish government only.

It is remarkable that but little is known of the early history of Sir Francis Drake, even the exact year of his birth having been a matter of dispute among his biographers. It seems, however, certain that he was born in Devonshire, on the banks of the Tavy, in or about the year 1544; that he was early sent to sea, and that he saw good service on the coast of Zeeland and France. A little later, we know from his own statement in the preface to his third voyage, written by himself and revised by his nephew, that he

must have visited the West Indies, as he speaks of the wrong he suffered with Captain Lovell in the years 1565 and 1566, at Rio de la Hacha. The first place, however, in which he appears in actual command, was on board the Judith, a small vessel of Sir John Hawkins' fleet, to whom, probably, the experience he had acquired in his previous voyage had recommended him. This fleet had been employed in 1568 at S. Juan de Ulloa and other parts of the Spanish West Indies, on what would now be considered privateering, if not piratical warfare; though the professed object of Hawkins in this, and in the two former voyages he had made in 1562 and 1564, was the procuring negro slaves in Guinea to be sold again in the West Indies.

Sir Francis Drake was at this time about twenty-three years of age, or, at all events, in his twenty-third year. The voyage, which commenced in October 1567, was singularly unfortunate; not only did the adventurers meet at its commencement with weather so bad as seriously to endanger their enterprise, but after they had, with some difficulty and loss of life, procured a cargo of negroes on the Guinea coast sufficient for their purpose, the Spaniards, owing chiefly to Hawkins's presumption and insane daring, fell upon the fleet in the Port of S. Juan de Ulloa, with a force so superior to that of the English, that only two of their ships were ultimately with much difficulty saved. One of these was Drake's ship, the Judith: how she escaped we know not, as it is remarkable that the name of her commander is not

mentioned in the narratives of the voyage subsequent to the great disaster at S. Juan de Ulloa; Hawkins himself, in his own account, only remarking that "the same night the *Judith* likewise forsook us". Of these voyages Camden only remarks, that Drake made two or three voyages to the West Indies, in which he made much money "by playing the seaman and the pirate".

He next appears to have made two voyages to the West Indies in 1570 and 1571, but what their result was is not known; probably it was not great, or, at all events, was not deemed by him to compare with his after achievements, as we find him entitling his next voyage the *third*, though it was really his *fifth* expedition.

The object of this third (or fifth) voyage, commonly called that to Nombre de Dios, is clearly stated in the Introduction to have been, personal vengeance on the part of Drake for injuries done to him by the Spaniards at Rio de Hacha in 1565 and 1566, and to have been more particularly directed against the viceroy of Mexico, Don Martin Henriques, in retaliation for the misfortunes brought about by his treachery at S. Juan de Ulloa in 1567 and 1568. It is there stated that he was compelled to act for himself, because he had in vain sought recompense of Spain by his own means and by her Majesty's letters. He commenced this voyage in 1572, and sailed to Nombre de Dios, then the granary of the West Indies, where he met with small success; thence onward to Carthagena; and thence, after opening communica-

tions with the outcast negros who had fled from the Spaniards, and who were known by the general name of the *Cimarrones*, Symerons, or Maroons, arrived safely in England in August 1573.

The most interesting incident of this voyage was the view which Drake, for the first time, obtained of the Pacific Ocean, while making an expedition across a narrow part of the Spanish main. It is said that he was conducted by some of the natives to a very tall tree which stood on the top of a hill, and that, having ascended to its summit, he enjoyed at one time the double view of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Need we wonder that a sight so inspiring should have haunted his mind day and night, and that he was, as Camden states, "so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that falling down there on his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might, at some time or other, saile thither and make a perfect discovery of the same." This Ocean itself had, as is well known, been discovered many years before, in 1513, by Vasco Nuñes de Balboa. It was first sailed on, two years later than this voyage, by an English vessel under the command of John Oxenham, who had served under Drake in the expedition against Nombre de Dios.

On Drake's return to England he seems to have rested awhile, "having gotten", as Camden remarks, "a pretty store of money", and did not for some years make any other distant expeditions. He is known, however, to have materially assisted his friend, Walter, Earl of Essex, in his reduction of several places

in Ireland; though, on the whole, Essex's plans were not successful, owing, it is said, to the personal hostility of his rival the Earl of Leicester. To Drake himself, his Irish adventures would appear to have been so far beneficial, that they afforded him the means of a personal introduction to Sir Christopher Hatton, then the Queen's vice-chamberlain, and ultimately to the Queen herself. Hence the strong probability that he obtained from Elizabeth special licence for his next voyage (the one we are now editing), if not, as many of the old narratives would seem to imply, her personal injunctions to carry on the war of reprisal against the Spaniards, with some assistance in money from herself, towards the expenses of the preparations and outfit required for it.

That this was the general object contemplated by Drake there seems no reason to doubt. We know from the commencement of the narrative, that great secrecy was observed as to the destination of his fleet, those on board not being aware, till some time after the ship had left the English coast, to what part of the world they were about to sail. Two probable reasons may be assigned for this secrecy; one, that the Spaniards might not be led to suspect the motive with which the force had been got together, and the object at which it was directed—it not being the Queen's policy, even at this time, to permit what, with her public sanction, would have amounted to a declaration of war; or, secondly, the unwillingness of Drake himself to be again anticipated by other adventurers, as he had been two years before by his former companion, John Oxenham.

The original work, of which the present volume is a reprint (the original spelling, too, having been preserved, as is the custom in other works of this Society), was published in 1628, in a small quarto, collected by the nephew of the Admiral out of the notes of Francis Fletcher, who was the chaplain on board Drake's ship. It is probable that but few copies were printed, and that on this account the work has now become exceedingly rare. To this reprint are added, in the form of foot-notes, extracts from a manuscript which exists in the British Museum [Sloane. No. 61], written, as appears from a notice in the last page of it, in 1577, and professing to be a literal copy of the notes first made by the said Francis Fletcher. This manuscript is headed with the words,—"The first part of the second voiage about the world, attempted, continued, and happily accomplished within the tyme of three yeares, by M. ffrancis Drake, at her highness command, and his company, written and faithfully layed downe by Ffrancis Ffletcher, Minister of Christ and Preacher of the Gospell, adventurer and traveller in the same voyage." On the flyleaf of the same manuscript, are the words,—"Ex libris Joh. Conyers, Pharmacopolist," and, to a very rude map of England which appears on the second page, is added,—"This is a mapp of England, an exact copy of the originall to a haire, and that done by ffrancis Ffletcher in Queen Elizabeth's tyme:—this copye by Jo. Conyers, cittizen and apothecary of London, togeather with the rest and by the same hand as follows."

It is, indeed, perfectly clear, that from this or from

some other copy of this same journal, Sir Francis Drake, the nephew, must have compiled his narrative; for there is no one who compares the two stories but will at once perceive, that the notes extracted from the Museum manuscript, must have been before the compiler of the printed account; not a few of the actual sentences, and the greater part of the details, being preserved in the printed work and the manuscript in almost the same words. There are, however, some important differences to which we must call attention, and which would seem clearly to demonstrate that the compiler and the chaplain were by no means of one mind; and that the former has felt little scruple in omitting some, and modifying other passages, which, as they appear in the chaplain's notes, were considered by him as in some degree derogating from his uncle's memory.

A considerable portion of what is now published will probably prove new to general readers, as Mr. Barrow, though he had access to the manuscript, and has inserted some extracts from it in his life of Sir Francis Drake, has not deemed it necessary to give all, or, as it would seem, the most important passages. We have therefore thought it right to print the manuscript *in extenso*, in the form of foot-notes at the bottom of the page, in every case where there was any real variation in feeling or language between the printed and the manuscript narrative; or where, as not unfrequently happens, the manuscript account is more copious than the narrative in the text.

Besides this manuscript narrative of Mr. Fletcher,

which, it is a matter of real regret, extends only to the end of what he calls the first part of the voyage, —viz., to the account of the Patagonian giants,—we have added some detached Notes which exist in handwriting of the time among the Harleian MSS., and which appear by some chance to have escaped the notice of Mr. Barrow, together with a long and very interesting document, to which we must allude in more detail hereafter, and which professes to be a narrative of Sir Francis Drake's voyage drawn up by one John Cooke. This manuscript is in the handwriting of Stowe, the well-known antiquary.

We have thought it best to arrange these Notes in three Appendices, the first containing documents relating to the mysterious case of Mr. Thomas Doughty; the second, some detached memoranda apparently referring to this voyage; and the third, a brief abstract of the events which took place during the voyage, which, on the whole, coincides with the statements of Mr. Fletcher, though it adds some things not noticed by him. In a fourth appendix, we have placed John Cooke's narrative; and in the fifth, various statements which have been, indeed, already printed in Hakluyt's large collection, but which, from the connexion they have with this voyage, and the scarcity of the collection in which they are entombed, seemed worthy of being reprinted here. With regard to the Notes printed in the first three Appendices, we may remark that they are all in the handwriting of the reign of Elizabeth; but that there is no clue from their contents by whose orders they were drawn up, or

who was the writer of them. They have, however, some interest as being, together with Cooke's narrative, in all probability the oldest contemporary manuscript records which we possess of Drake's voyage.

It is not so easy to determine what purpose those which we have placed in Appendix I and II may have been intended to serve; yet this much is we think clear from the tone which pervades them, as well as the short abstract of the voyage in Appendix III, that they were put together by some one who was not friendly to Sir Francis Drake, or who, in the quarrel with Doughty, had taken part with him against his accusers. It is indeed possible that the memoranda in Appendix II, relative to the case of Mr. Doughty, may have been *pièces justicatives* collected by Fletcher himself, to confirm the statement of the proceedings of the trial, as described in the manuscript of the Museum; while those in Appendix I may have been used originally as information for Sir F. Drake himself, when about to bring Doughty to trial. In either case, if taken by themselves, it is hardly possible now to form any satisfactory conclusion about them. They are evidently fragments, without beginning or end, a few sheets remaining of what was once perhaps a bulky volume of evidence. They must, in fact, be considered at present as no more than what they are called in the Harleian volume—Memoranda.

The third Appendix contains the brief abstract of Drake's voyage, to which we have alluded. There is no hint given as to who was the writer of it, but it is, like the other documents, in the handwriting of

the same period. It does not commence till after the passage of the Straits of Magellan, but it is continued from that time till the return of Drake to England in 1580. From the language used in it towards Drake, it is clear, as we have already stated, that the writer was not well disposed towards him. It is probably the production of some one who had sailed in the fleet with him, as it confirms, sometimes in the very same words, other narratives of this voyage which have been already printed.

We have also the pleasure of laying before our readers a copy of a very curious map of this voyage, published in Holland by J. Hondius, a well-known maker of maps towards the close of the sixteenth century. To this remarkable map, which is an exceedingly fine specimen of the engraving of the day, and believed to be unique, is appended in Dutch a long account of the voyage itself, which, from the similarity of the descriptions in it, would appear to have been translated and condensed from some narrative then extant, in nearly the same words as that we are now editing. The map itself is a very valuable one; it is spread out into one large sheet, and contains on the border around it smaller maps of the port of New Albion, the port of Java the Greater, and of the Island of Gillolo, together with two pictures of Drake's own ship, in one instance at anchor, in the other when stranded upon the rocks.

At the beginning of the Dutch narrative, which commences with the words "Corte beschryvinghe van die seer heerliicke voyagie der Capiteyn Draeck", is a por-

trait of Drake himself, and at the end of the account of Drake is a short notice of Mr. Cavendish's voyage, to which is also prefixed a portrait of that traveller. The whole of the Dutch narrative has been translated and published by Mr. Wright in 1742, with a dedication to Admiral Vernon. Mr. Wright, however, did not engrave the map, but has inserted a much inferior though later one, while he has not alluded to the Dutch text from which he has taken his own version. It has not been deemed requisite to re-engrave for this volume more than the portion which contains the maps of the two hemispheres.

We have reserved till now some account of the narrative of the voyage which we find in Appendix IV, and which, as we have stated, is preserved in the handwriting of Stow, and is signed with the name of John Cooke, and dedicated to "Fraunses Drake, Knyght, sone to Sir Drake, Vickar of Vp-churche in Kent". Who this John Cooke was, we have now no means of telling—yet, if his statements are not to be rejected as altogether false, (which, from their general consistency, and their agreement with the notices and language of other documents, seems to be impossible,) we must conclude that he was one of the company in Drake's squadron. His name, indeed, occurs among the list of witnesses to three of the charges against Mr. Doughty, and he on more than one occasion distinctly asserts, that he was present at the events which he describes. This manuscript account is, indeed, a very remarkable one, and it is, to say the least, a little curious that it

should so wholly have escaped the notice of those who have so repeatedly searched our manuscript collections for new matter relating to the History of Sir Francis Drake. The most distinguishing feature of it is the light that it throws on the death of Mr. Doughty: and it cannot be denied, that if it be in the main a true narrative, which we are inclined to think it is, the character of Sir Francis for impartiality and justice is materially impeached. It seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, that, though doubtless himself persuaded of the honesty of the course which he was pursuing, the Admiral allowed himself to be swayed from the strict course of justice by the cavils and jealousies of persons who were envious of Mr. Doughty's character and abilities.

The language of the writer is coarse and vehement, more befitting that of a partisan than a true historian; but at the same time, it must not be forgotten, that in the two manuscript narratives of Fletcher and Cooke alone do we find any details on the subject of Mr. Doughty's execution; that in the printed voyage originally edited by Sir Francis Drake's nephew, the name of the gentleman executed is not even mentioned; that, in the shorter notice of this voyage in Hakluyt (see Appendix V, No. II) the story told resembles that given by Fletcher, though with the name of the criminal, and with far greater brevity; that in Edward Cliffe's account of Mr. Winter's voyage, (see Appendix V, No. IV) it is simply stated, that "the last of June, M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answere, and

convicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned": though, if, as stated by Cooke, Mr. Winter was the foreman of the jury who were empanelled to try Doughty, he must have been able to give fuller details on the subject, had he so chosen. While, in the "Discourse of the West Indies and South Sea, written by Lopez Vaz," (see Appendix V, No, v) the name of Doughty is not given; but the writer states, that "there also hee (Sir Francis Drake) put to death a gentleman of his company, because he would have returned home".

The silence of the nephew in his edition, and the scanty notice in the published narrative of Mr. Winter's voyage, together with their entire difference from the manuscript accounts of Fletcher and Cooke, to say nothing of the different motive assigned for the punishment of Doughty by Lopez de Vaz, cannot fail to throw some suspicion on the printed accounts which have come down to us.

The whole story of the trial and execution of this unfortunate man is so remarkable, that it seems worth while to take a particular view of all that has been discovered relative to his case, and to contrast and bring out into distinctness, so far as it is possible, the several accounts which may be traced in the different narratives.

Thus, if we take the stories in the order in which they are printed in this volume, we find it stated in the pages we are now editing, that at Port St. Julian, a remote harbour in the southern extremity of South America, a conspiracy against Drake was publicly

declared; which, however, had been long known, and had even been discovered to the General (as he is usually called) himself before he left Plymouth: again, we learn, that so far from treating the suspected person with any severity, or setting any watch on his movements, Drake had advanced him in various ways,—had made him acquainted with all his counsels; nay, had even shown anger at those who, from time to time, had preferred fresh complaints against him. We are further told that it was not till he found all his lenity and kindness were misplaced, and the treasonable practices from day to day increasing, that he resolved to call the offender to account; and having placed a guard over him, and assembled the chief men of the squadron, that he laid the whole case before them. We are then informed, that no sooner were these active steps taken, than the prisoner at once admitted his guilt, begging he might receive as soon as possible the punishment so justly his due; and, that a jury of forty persons selected from the ships' companies were unanimous in their decision against him, declaring that it only remained for the General to determine when and in what manner the sentence of death should be carried into execution.

The narrative proceeds to relate that Sir Francis Drake, having accepted the decision of this jury, offered the prisoner three alternatives, to be executed on the island, where they then were,—to be set on shore on the mainland of South America,—or to be sent home and reserved for the decision of the Lords of the Queen's

Council; and adds, that Mr. Doughty, having in spite of the earnest entreaties of many of his friends, chosen the first alternative, was executed publicly in the presence of the General, and the whole of the ship's company, who had previously dined and taken the Sacrament with him. Such is the story in "The World Encompassed", and published in 1628, just fifty years after the event.

It is impossible not to feel that this narrative has, as has been noticed by Mr. Barrow, a dramatic effect which throws considerable improbability over it; while we cannot but remark, that no witnesses are stated to have been called; no defence offered; and, above all, that the name of the condemned person is not even mentioned. It would seem, moreover, unlikely, to say the least, that if Drake had been really aware, ere he left England, of the facts, as stated in his nephew's edition of this voyage, he would, as far as we know without any investigation, have carried Mr. Doughty with him, as one of his chief officers, and have preferred him, in more than one instance, to places of trust and confidence.

When, in continuing our examination of this story, we turn to the manuscript account, which professes to have been drawn up by Mr. Fletcher the chaplain, we find some remarkable differences between it and the statement of the case as published in the "World Encompassed"; though, as we have before remarked, the compiler of that work has, in many instances, copied the words of Mr. Fletcher, and must therefore have had his work before him when preparing his

own. The conclusion seems inevitable, if indeed any credence is to be given to Mr. Fletcher (and, in other matters, the author of the "World Encompassed" appears to have deemed him a trustworthy writer), that when the printed volume was in preparation, long after the events to which it refers, the compiler used a natural but unwise discretion, and suppressed or modified such passages as he imagined might throw a slur upon his uncle's memory.

In Mr. Fletcher's narrative, the accusation which was brought against Mr. Doughty is widely different from that given in "The World Encompassed", and it is more than once insinuated that the real cause of his condemnation was not the discovery of any plot on his part against the life or reputation of his commander, but the effect of the enmity or jealousy of certain parties in the squadron, who, by substantiating against him a charge of unfaithfulness and of treasonable practices, were thus able more effectually to get rid of him. It is true, indeed, that Fletcher alludes to the story that Mr. Doughty had spoken against Sir F. Drake, and to the report that the General had been informed of this before he left Plymouth; but it is equally clear that Fletcher himself attached little or no weight to this rumour, and that he only mentions it as one among many smaller things which may have had their weight in the ultimate decision against him. In the same spirit, when noticing the differences which had arisen between Doughty and those under him on board the Portuguese prize, Fletcher adds, apparently as a

matter deserving no real credit, the charge brought against him shortly after he had taken command of this vessel, by some of those who were on board of her, to the effect that he had purloined to his own use some small articles of no great value. He further remarks, that when Drake himself, on investigation, found the alleged thefts were only those of a few pairs of gloves, of a few strange coins, and of a small ring, which Mr. Doughty averred the Portuguese had given to him, the General evidently held these charges to afford such slender evidence of guilt, that though he removed him from the prize (a wise and probably necessary step, considering the ill-feeling which prevailed against him), he nevertheless sent him in his own stead to command the Admiral, the principal ship of the squadron, while he himself took the command of the prize.

Mr. Fletcher clearly thought it quite improbable that Drake would have given him what in fact was a considerable promotion, had he really believed the charges which the sailors in the prize had brought against him. The chaplain adds, that Mr. Doughty's evil fortune pursued him on board the Admiral, and that it was thought by some in that ship that he was too peremptory and exceeded his authority, so that in the end, those who had him in dislike were enabled to take advantage against him to complain a second time; the result on this occasion being that the General "removed the said Doughty a prisoner into the fly-boat with utter disgrace".

Again, when describing the trial of Mr. Doughty,

it is important to remark, that Fletcher does not mention that any alternative was given him; a fact, which had it been really true, he could hardly have failed to report, especially as there seems no possible reason why on a point so interesting he should have kept silence. It is manifest that, rightly or wrongly, Mr. Fletcher believed the whole charge against the accused gentleman to have been got up between the Cape de Verd Islands and the arrival of the squadron at Port St. Julian, and that his subsequent fate was, as he has termed it, a "bloudy tragedie". In this view he is perfectly consistent with himself in the latter part of his narrative. Thus, when a storm arose near the Straits of Magellan, in which several of the sailors were lost and the ships dispersed, Fletcher, in relating a remarkable accident which befell one Brewer the trumpeter, makes the pregnant remark, that this punishment ought to be considered as the direct judgment of God upon one of Mr. Doughty's accusers; while in the character which he gives of the condemned man, in the somewhat over-strained language of the times, he speaks of him in terms which denote a long continued real friendship, and exhibits a personal knowledge of him which we can hardly imagine to be fictitious, and which entitles his remarks on his fate to more than ordinary consideration.

Such are the two independent narratives as furnished to us in "The World Encompassed" and Mr. Fletcher's manuscript journal. We will add to them here the condensed statement published originally in

Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii, pp. 730-742, and which we have republished in Appendix V, No. II. According to this statement it is said, that "in this port (St. Julian) our General began to inquire diligently of the actions of Mr. Thomas Doughty, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention and mutiny, or some other disorder, whereby (without redress) the success of the voyage might greatly have been hazarded; whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found, partly by Mr. Doughty's own confession and partly by the evidence of the fact, to be true; which, when our General saw, although his private affection to Mr. Doughty (as he then in presence of all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his countrie, did more touch him (as indeed it ought) than the private respect of one man; so that the cause being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order, as neere as it might be to the course of our laws in England, it was concluded that Mr. Doughty should receive punishment according to the quality of his offence. And he, seeing no remedie but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the Communion, which he did at the hands of Mr. Fletcher the minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that Holy action; which being done, and the place of execution ready, he, having embraced our General, and taken leave of all the companie, with prayer for the Queen's Majestie and

our realm, in quiet sort laid his head upon the block, where he ended his life." It will be observed that this account does not tally exactly with either of the preceding ones, though it may, not improbably, have formed the basis or first outline of the more elaborate version in "The World Encompassed".

Let us now examine the charges preferred against Mr. Doughty, as they are preserved in the "Notes and Memoranda" to which we have already alluded (see Appendix I and II), together with the more detailed statement of Cooke (see Appendix IV). These charges may be classed as follows.

1. Words said to have been spoken by him while on board the Pellican.

2. Those alleged to have been uttered by him when in the Fly-boat.

3. Words said to have been spoken by him "in a captain's garden" in Plymouth, and, also, on board the Pellican, to the General himself.

It is important to remark, that to the second of the classes are appended as witnesses the names of many persons engaged in the voyage, and that among them no name appears so frequently as that of the chaplain Fletcher. The signatures are not those of the parties themselves, but are doubtless, like the documents to which they are attached, copies from originals, which are not, that we are aware, now extant. Several of these names are mentioned in the different narratives which we have collected in this volume, such as those of Fletcher, Cuttyl, Chester, Winter, Worrall, Vikarye, Moone, John Cowke,

Brewer, and Legge. To one charge, in the third class, is added the name of "Frances Drake".

With regard to Fletcher himself, it becomes a curious subject for inquiry, under what inducement he was led to bear his testimony against one whom he clearly, from his own narrative, would seem to have considered as his especial friend, and whose subsequent execution he deemed to be, at the least, a judicial murder? Can it be that the details given by Cooke are really the true ones, and that Fletcher, like himself (for his name, too, appears as a witness to three of the charges against Doughty), was overawed by Drake's vehemence, and, to save himself, confessed to conversations at which he had been present, and to speeches of Mr. Doughty, which, as a true friend, he ought to have kept unrevealed?

Another most interesting subject for enquiry with regard to Fletcher is, the story very briefly alluded to in the Memoranda (Appendix II, p. 176), where it is stated that Drake (for some offence not mentioned) "excommunicated" Fletcher, and ordered an inscription to be fastened round his neck with these words: "Frances Fletcher, the falsest knave that liveth." On another sheet of the same Memoranda (Appendix II, p. 177), is a note "to enquire when Drake fell out with Fletcher, and how long hee ware his bracelett with this posey: francis Fletcher, ye falsest knave y^{t} liveth; where it was put on, and where it was taken off againe." Are we to suppose that this Memorandum, like some others on the same sheet, which have the same character, was made, on the re-

turn of Drake's ship to England in 1580, the groundwork, perhaps, of some proceedings to be commenced against him, but which were subsequently abandoned?

And, with regard to the punishment inflicted on Fletcher by Drake, are we to conclude, that, at some later period of the voyage, Drake became aware that Fletcher's testimony was not wholly to be relied on; perhaps even found some of the papers which he had written on the subject of this very trial and judgment, and so made him pay the penalty of his double dealing and falsehood? These and other questions hardly less interesting, must, however, we fear, remain unanswered, or be met by conjectural replies, on which no great reliance can be placed: the papers we have been able to collect being evidently fragments, and no other documents (so far, at least, as we are aware) now remaining, which throw any additional light on the history of this voyage.

The charges against Mr. Doughty contained in the Notes in these two Appendices, are briefly the following. It is asserted, that Doughty refused to tell Sir Francis Drake that there were discontented spirits in the fleet, who wished to set one ship against the other; that he attempted to bribe one Thomas Cuttyl with £100; that he had promised a better ship and higher rank to such friends who would work with him; that he claimed for himself a great share in the preparations which were made for the voyage; that he had averred, it was mainly through his instrumentality that Drake had been noticed by the Earl

of Essex, and had received much credit for his services in Ireland; that he had denied Drake's commission and authority being equal to that of Magellan, or that it extended to the infliction of capital punishment; that he had himself contributed a thousand marks towards the cost of the voyage; that he could reveal certain secrets relative to the General which he would not like to have made public; that he had asserted that the General had been compelled to fly to Ireland to escape the judgment of the council for his Indian voyages; that he had been in reality the chief promoter of the voyage, having made it known to the Queen, through Hatton, and having received a special charge from her in consequence in reward for his own honest dealing in Ireland; that he had stated, that on his return to England, he would have been able to bribe the whole Council, and even the Queen herself; and that the worst word from his mouth was better (*i.e.*, more influential) than three others from the General.

These, and other several statements of a similar character, are attributed to him at different times and in different places, and would appear to have formed the basis of the accusation which was brought against him and the evidence on which he was condemned. Let us now see what are the principal facts stated in Cooke's narrative, and how far they agree with the charges enumerated above; premising, however, that, throughout his account, Sir Francis Drake is represented to have been a man of very violent temper, and that the writer does not scruple, in more than one instance, to

call him a tyrant, and the government of his ships a detestable tyranny.

Mr. Cooke commences his story by stating, that "Francys Drake, John Winter, and Thomas Doughty," started together as "eqwall companions and friendly gentlemen, with a fleet of five ships", etc., from Plymouth; a fact which is not mentioned in any of the other narratives, though, in one, Doughty is stated to have been second to Drake. The probability is, that the fleet was mainly got together by Drake's personal exertions, aided, doubtless, as was customary, then, and subsequently, by the contributions of merchants and others, if not, as seems not unlikely, by a donation from the Queen's own purse. The writer goes on to say, that on the capture of the Portuguese vessel, Drake committed the "custody and well keeping of the price vnto Mast^r Thomas Doughty as his good and especiall friend, prayenge hym in any case to se good ordar kept, and who so shuld be the breaker thereof to gyve hym to undarstond of any suche without exception of any". That shortly after this, Thomas Drake, the general's brother, offended against "this good ordar", by breaking open a chest, and was for this reason denounced to his brother by Doughty; and that, on Drake's hearing of the charge he fell into a great rage, and swore that Doughty did not mean only to touch his brother, but to strike also at his own credit. The writer then remarks, that from this time continual grudges arose between these former friends, till at length on his removal to the *Pellican*, they had reached to such

a height, that men began to think the General's "love towards hym in England was more in brave words then harty good will or frindly love". For a while, indeed, Drake seems to have been reconciled to him, chiefly through the intercession of Mr. Vicary, and to have left him in the *Pellican*, as the ship's company imagined, with the rank and authority of captain.

The reconciliation was not, however, of long endurance. It happened that John Brewer, the trumpeter, went on board the *Pellican*, and, on his return to his own ship, after having had a quarrel with Doughty, laid a complaint before the General, who immediately sent a boat for Doughty. It appears, further, that, when he came alongside the prize, the General refused to allow him to come on board, or to hear a word from him in his defence, but sent him at once on board the *Fly-boat*. This event would seem to have taken place during the period that the squadron was crossing from the Cape de Verde Islands to the Coast of South America. Off the river Plata the *Fly-boat*, in which Mr. Doughty was now left, was separated from the rest of the ships; the narrator adds, that during its absence, Drake never ceased to inveigh against Mr. Doughty, "terming him a conjuror and a witche, and at eny time when we had any fowle wethar, he would say that Thomas Doughty was the occasyoner thereof"; while he and other gentlemen "were delt with, in all this theyr absens, by a sorte of badd and envyous people as saylers and such lyke, but specyally Mastar Doughty at whose discredit they dyd nevar leave to shotte".

It seems, too, that there were continual squabbles on board the *Fly-boat* itself; the master leaving the mess of Doughty and the other gentlemen, and preferring to mess with the common sailors; till in the end Doughty was compelled to remonstrate with Mr. Chester, the acting captain of the vessel on the outrageous conduct of the master. The result was high words between the master and Doughty, in the course of which the latter remarked, that "consyderynge his adventure", (*i.e.* the sum he had embarked in the voyage) he deserved to be used, at least, as well as other men; together with a threat, on the part of Doughty, that he would appeal to the sword, and would support Mr. Chester in his government of the ship. The writer adds, "this I can well avouche to be true, for there are two or three sworne to thesse articles". Shortly after this, the *Fly-boat* rejoined the fleet and was burnt, probably as no longer sea-worthy, and Doughty rejoined the *Pellican*.

It appears, however, that matters were not, as might have been expected, at all mended by this step; for "upon some unkynde speches as in sayeng that the worst word that came out of his mowthe was to be beleved asone as his othe", the General "dyd not onely stryke hym, but comaunded hym to be bound to the mast", and made the master of the *Fly-boat*, with whom he had had the quarrel to which we have alluded, the executioner of this punishment.

Mr. Doughty was then removed into the *Canter* (with his brother, John Doughty, who is not mentioned by any one else), although against his will, "for

that he sayde he knew them to be there that sought his lyfe, as, namely, the master of the flie-boat, and some other desperate and vnhonest people." The General, however, would not hear of these or any excuses, but swore that if he did not go, "he woulde lyfte hym out with the takle, and in that behalfe commaundyd the takle to be lowsed."

Mr. Doughty was hardly entered the *Canter* when she, too, got away from the other ships for three or four days, chiefly, in Drake's opinion, from some fault of Doughty's, though it does not appear that he had the command of her. At length the squadron arrived at Port St. Julian, the writer of this account stating that "Master Doughtie's woes" "dyd daylye increase throughe this tyranycall governement, and althowghe the moast parte, and especially suche as were honeste, dyd lamente his case, yet durst they not be knowne there of but to theyr assured friends."

On their arrival at the port, the *Canter*, like the *Fly-boat*, was destroyed; and Drake, coming on board the *Elizabeth* and calling the ship's company together, told them that he was about to send to them "a very badde cople of menn, the which he dyd not know how to cary alonge with hym this voyadge and goe throughe ther with all, as namely, qd. he, Thomas Dowghtie who is, qd. he, a conjurer, a sedytyous fellow, and a very badd and lewed fellow, and one I have made that reckoninge of as of my leste hand, and his brother yonge Dowghty, a wiche, a poysoner, and suche a one as the worlde cane judge of; I cane not tell from whence he came, but from the dyvell I thinke."

Then, having given strict orders that none should speak to them or have any communications with them, and that they should not be permitted to read or write, he concluded with a speech to his people, assuring them of the ultimate success of the voyage, and of the great wealth they should be able individually to amass; so that "the worst boy shuld never nede to goe agayne to sea, but shuld be able to lyve in England with a right good gentleman", and more of the same kind. The effect of this was, that, on the arrival of Doughty and his brother on board the *Elizabeth*, they were treated like criminals of the worst kind, no one daring to speak to them, and the boatswain himself losing his place for showing them the trifling kindness of providing them a separate cabin.

The writer then proceeds to give at considerable length full details of the arraignment, trial, and subsequent execution of the unfortunate man. It will be sufficient for our purpose here, if we call attention to the leading facts of the case as narrated by him.

The last day of June 1578, the place of trial on shore having been settled, Drake ordered all the ships' company to be present, and having by his side John Thomas, with a roll of papers, addressed Doughty, accusing him of attempting in various ways to discredit him, to the great hindrance and overthrow of the voyage, "besydes other great matters where with I charge you with all, the whiche yf you can clere your self of, you and I shall be very good frends, whereto the contrary you have deserved deathe."

To this the accused replied that he was not guilty,

and claimed to be reserved for judgment in England; and when Drake, on the other hand, declared he would then and there empanel a jury, added, "I hope yow will see yowre comyssyon is enowghe." Drake then ordered his arms to be bound, on the pretence that his life was in danger, and charged him with having poisoned the Earl of Essex, and with having stated that he was the first person who had introduced him (Drake) to the Earl. He then empanelled a jury, the number of whom is not stated, John Wynter being appointed foreman.

The trial then commenced by John Thomas reading certain articles of accusation, most of which appeared to be words of unkindness and of choler, which Doughty did not question, till at length one Edward Bright ("whose honeste of lyfe", adds the writer, "I have not to deale with") came forward with the specific charge against him, that Doughty had said to him in Drake's garden (at Plymouth) "that the qwenes maiestie and counsell woulde be corrupted." To this Doughty answered with a flat denial, adding that he and Bright had never been on such terms of intimacy as to render such a conversation between them probable. A second accusation was then laid before the jury, to the effect that Doughty had affirmed that the Lord Treasurer "had a plott of this voyadge". "No, that he has not", replied Drake; Doughty, however, maintained he had, and from him. On this Drake rejoined, "Lo, my mastars, what this fellowe hath done, God will have his trecheryes all known, for her maiestie gave me special commaunde-

ment that of all men my lord treasurar shuld not knowe it, but to se he his owne mowthe hathe betwrayed hym." Mr. Doughty then offered to set his hand to anything, provided he might be allowed to answer these charges in England, which Drake promised to consider as soon as the jury had returned their verdict. After one more attempt on the part of Vicary to intercede for his friend, and some demur on the part of the jury to Bright's unsupported testimony against him, which was overruled by Drake, who swore that what Bright had said was true, the verdict of guilty was returned.

The narrative goes on to state that, on the receipt of the verdict, Drake went down to the sea shore, and unrolling a large bundle of letters, read aloud several from Master Hankyns to the Earl of Essex and from Essex to Secretary Walsingham in commendation of himself, and from Master Hatton to him, bidding him take with him in this voyage two of his (Hatton's) men, viz., John Brewer and John Thomas; and, lastly, "a bill of hir maiesties aventure of a thousand crownes;" and adds that, when he had concluded the reading of the letters, he made a speech to the effect that if Doughty were now spared, the voyage must be given up, and, on this issue, bid the company hold up their hands to decide his fate, aye or no. The result was no longer doubtful; as many who envied his former felicity were now ready to see him cast down, and many had not the courage to give an independent verdict. Still the writer states, that Drake was willing to make a shew of mercy, and promised to give "be-

tween that and the next morrowe" if any one could devise a mode of saving his life. On this Doughty appealed to Winter, who immediately promised that the prisoner should remain safe in his custody, if Drake would commit him to him.

It then appears that Drake repented of his merciful intentions, for the writer adds that he said, " Loe, then, my masters, qd. he, we must thus doe; we must nayle hym closse undar the hatches, and returne home agayn without makynge any voyadge, and if youw will do so say your mindes." "Then," adds the writer, " a companye of desperate banckwroupts, that could not lyve in theyr countrye without the spoyle of that as others had gotten by the swete of theyr browes, cryed, God forbyde, good generall:" and Doughty was accordingly ordered to prepare for death. Two nights and a day having been allowed him for prayer and to set his worldly business in order, on the third day he entreated that he might take the Sacrament; to which Drake agreed, and took it with him: then after a banquet, and prayer for the Queen's Majesty and for the success of the voyage, with a request to Drake himself that he would, for his sake, forgive some men who had fallen into displeasure on his account, he laid his head on the block, and suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

Such is a brief outline of the remarkable story as told by John Cooke, which, if it be, on the whole, true and free from exaggeration, places the fate of the unhappy man in a light which reflects painfully upon the character of Drake himself. We are un-

willing to say more on this subject, but it is impossible not to remark how many of the charges mentioned in the "Notes", to which we have already had occasion in more than one instance to refer, are borne out by the narrative, and also how well, in most points, it agrees with the story in Fletcher's manuscript. In the remaining pages, too, of Mr. Cooke's narrative, are several passages which throw additional light on the character of the voyage itself, together with further details of Drake's personal bearing towards his ship's company, which do not speak more favourably of either his temper or his manners.

In drawing these remarks, which we are conscious have been already extended beyond their just limits, to a conclusion—it seems right to give the views which have been taken of Mr. Doughty's case by some eminent writers who have considered it independently; premising, however, that the fuller history, for which we are indebted to John Cooke, does not seem to have been known to any of them. Thus, Camden says, "In this very place, (Port St. Julian) John Doughty, an industrious and stout man, and the next unto Drake, was called to his trial, for raising a mutiny in the fleet, found guilty by twelve men, after the English manner, and condemned to death, which he suffered undauntedly, being beheaded, having first received the Holy Communion with Drake. And, indeed, the most impartial persons in the fleet were of opinion that he had acted seditiously; and that Drake cut him off as an emulator of his glory, and one that regarded not so much who

he himself excelled in commendations for sea matters, as who he thought might equal him. Yet wanted there not some, who pretending to understand things better than others, gave out that Drake had in charge from Leicester to take off Doughty, upon any pretence whatsoever, because he had reported abroad that the Earl of Essex was made away by the cunning practices of Leicester."

Again, the author of the Life of Sir Francis Drake, in the *Biographia Britannica*, after reviewing the circumstances of the case, remarks that "there are two points which deserve particular consideration; *first*, that in such expeditions, strict discipline and legal severity are absolutely necessary; *secondly*, that as to the Earl of Essex, for whose death Doughty had expressed concern, he was Drake's first patron, and it is therefore improbable he should destroy a man for endeavouring to detect his murder. We may add to this, if liberty may be indulged to conjectures, that this man, presuming upon the Earl of Leicester's favour, (who very probably imposed upon Drake to be rid of him) was thence encouraged to form designs against Drake; and this might also be the reason which hindered him from inclining to an absolute pardon, as doubting whether it was possible to trust one who had so far abused his confidence already, and whose known interest with so great a man might always enable him to find instruments in case he was wicked enough to enter upon fresh intrigues."

Lastly, with the same remark, that he, like all the

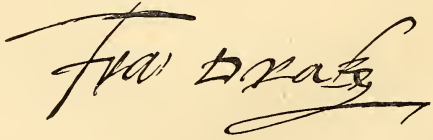
other writers, was not acquainted with all the extant authorities, we give with much pleasure the humane judgment of Dr. Johnson. "How far," says he, "it is probable that Drake, after having been acquainted with this man's designs, should admit him into his fleet, and afterwards caress, respect, and trust him; or, that Doughtie, who is represented as a man of eminent abilities, should engage in so long and hazardous a voyage, with no other view than that of defeating it, is left to the determination of the reader. What designs he could have formed with any hope of success, or to what actions worthy of death he could have proceeded without accomplices, for none are mentioned, is equally difficult to imagine. Nor, on the other hand, though the obscurity of the account, and the remote place chosen for the discovery of this wicked project, seem to give reason for suspicion, does there appear any temptation from either hope, fear, or interest that might induce Drake, or any commander in his state, to put to death an innocent man upon false pretences."

For ourselves, we need hardly add, that it never was our intention, as it could scarcely have been our wish, to attempt to reverse the general judgment of the men of his own times upon the character of Sir Francis Drake. If they who knew him best were content to believe, it is admitted, with an imperfect knowledge of the facts, that no charge of blood guiltiness could be brought against Sir Francis Drake in the matter of Mr. Doughty, we are content, even though much new matter has been discovered, to

accept in his favour the judgment of his contemporaries. It was our simple duty to lay before the public whatever papers seemed to throw light on an obscure transaction, but we must not therefore forget that the narrative of John Cooke, though it reads so consistently, may have been either a fabrication or a gross exaggeration, the result of jealousy or some vindictive feelings against Drake; and that, be this as it may, this much is certain, that no steps were taken, on Drake's return to England in 1580, to examine into the matter legally, or to bring Drake himself to trial.

The Editor, in conclusion, begs to offer his best thanks to Bolton Corney, Esq. for his loan of the printed volume of "The World Encompassed", from which the present edition has been reprinted, and to his friends R. H. Major, Esq., the Secretary to the Hakluyt Society, and E. Bond, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for much valuable assistance they have rendered him.

To Sir Trayton Drake, Bart., of Nutwell Court, Devon, the lineal descendant of Sir Francis Drake, he is indebted for the copy of the signature of the Admiral, which appears at the bottom of this page.



THE WORLD

Encompassed

By

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next Voyage to that to *Nombre de Dios* formerly imprinted;

Carefully collected out of the Notes of Master Francis Fletcher, *Preacher in this imployment, and diuers others his followers in the same;*

Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of *heroick spirits, to benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.*

LONDON:

Printed for Nicholas Bovrne,
and are to be sold at his shop at the
Royall Exchange. 1628.

TO

THE TRVLY NOBLE

ROBERT EARLE OF WARWICKE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

FAME and enuie are both needlesse to the dead because vnknowne, sometimes dangerous to the liuing when too well knowne; reason enough that I rather chuse to say nothing, then too little, in the praise of the deceased author, or of your Lordship my desired fautor. COLUMBUS did neatly checke his emulators, by rearing an egge without assistance. Let the slighter of this voyage applie. If your Lordship vouchsafe the acceptance, 'tis yours, if the reader can picke out either vse or content, 'tis his, and I am pleased. Example being the publique, and your Lordship's fauor the priuate aime, of

Your humbly devoted,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

THE VOYAGE ABOUT THE WORLD,

By SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Ever since Almighty God commanded Adam to subdue the earth, there have not wanted in all ages some heroicall spirits which, in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct inforcing them thereunto, have expended their wealth, imployed their times, and aduentured their persons, to finde out the true circuit thereof.

Of these, some haue endeauored to effect this their purpose by conclusion and consequence, drawne from the proportion of the higher circles to this nethermost globe, being the centre of the rest. Others, not contented with schoole points, and such demonstrations (for that a small errour in the beginning, growing in the progresse to a great inconuenience), have added thereunto their owne history and experience. All of them in reason haue deserued great commendation of their owne ages, and purchased a iust renowne with all posterity. For if a surueyer of some few Lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before knowne, worthily deserue his reward, not onely for his trauell, but for his skill also in measuring the whole and euerie part thereof, how much more, aboue comparison, are their famous trauells by all meanes possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and indeauor to survey and measure

this globe, allmost vnmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be obiected, which in private possessions is of value: *Whose land suruey you?* forasmuch as the maine Ocean by right is the Lord's alone, and by nature left free for all men to deale withall, as very sufficient for all mens vse, and large enough for all mens industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprise, accompanied with happy successe, which that right rare and thrice worthy Captaine, *Francis Drake*, atcheiued, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not onely ouermatch the ancient Argonautes, but also outreacheth, in many respects, that noble mariner *Magellanus*, and by farre surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.

It shall for the present be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty to register the true and whole history of that his voyage, with as great indifferency of affection as a history doth require, and with the plaine euidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chiefe, and diuers other actors in that action.

The said Captaine *Francis Drake* hauing in a former voyage, in the yeares 72 and 73 (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world), had a sight, and onely a sight, of the South Atlantik, and thereupon either conceiuing a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an English bottom; he so cherished thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himselfe, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some yeares, partly by secret enuie at home, and partly by publique seruice for his Prince and countrie abroad (wherof Ireland under Walter, Earle of Essex, giues honorable testimonie), yet, against the yeare 1577, by gratious commission from his soueraigne, and with the helpe of diuers friends aduenturers, he had fitted himselfe with fiue ships.

1. The *Pellican*, admirall, burthen 100 tonnes, Captaine-generall *Francis Drake*.

2. The *Elizabeth*, vice-admirall, burthen 80 tonnes, Captain *John Winter*.

3. The *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tonnes, Captaine *John Thomas*.

4. The *Swanne*, a fliboat of 50 tonnes, Captaine *John Chester*.

5. The *Christopher*, a pinnace of 15 tonnes, Captaine *Thomas Moone*.

These ships he mand with 164[1] able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentifull prouision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a voyage did seeme to require; and amongst the rest, with certaine pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set vp in smoother water, when occasion serued. Neither had he omitted to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him, expert musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging euen to the Cooke-roome being of pure siluer), and diuers shewes of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the ciuilitie and magnificence of his natiue contrie might, amongst all nations whithersoeuer he should come, be the more admired.

Being thus appointed, we set saile out of the Sound of Plimmouth, about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, Nouember 15, of the same yeare [1577],[2] and running all that night

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[1] [With 5 ships and 150 men and some boys.]—*Sloane MS.* p. 3.

[2] [Whence setting our course for the frette of Jubolter* under pretence to travel to Alexandria, we were enforced by contrary winds into ffa'mout, upon our owne coast at Cornwall, where meeting with an intollerable storme we seemed to be driven into a desperate state, and at that tyme not to proceed any further in our intended travailes. Notwithstanding it pleased God at the last in mercy to deliver us, with the loss

* Gibraltar ?

Southwest, by the morning [Nov. 16] were come as farre as the Lyzard, where meeting the wind at Southwest (quite contrarie to our intended course), we were forced, with our whole fleet, to put in to Falmouth.

The next day [Nov. 17], towards euening, there arose a storme, continuing all that night and the day following [18] (especially betweene 10 of the clocke in the forenoone, and 5 in the afternoone) with such violence, that though it were in a very good harbor, yet 2 of our ships, viz., the admirall (wherein our generall himself went) and the Marigold, were faine to cut their maine masts by board, and for the repairing of them, and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soone as the weather would giue leave), to beare backe to Plimmouth againe, where wee all arrived the 13 day [Nov. 28] after our first departure thence.

Whence (hauing in few daies supplied all defects) with happier sayles[1] we once more put to sea, *December* 13, 1577.

As soone as we were out of sight of land, our generall gaue us occasion to coniecture in part whither he intended, both by the directing of his course and appointing the *Randeuous** (if any should bee seuered from the fleet) to be the Iland *Mogadore*. And so sailing with fauorable windes, the first land that we had sight of was *Cape Cantine*† in *Barbarie*,[2]

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of the main mast of our admirall, and the bursting of one of our small barkes only.]—*Sloane MS.* p. 3.

[1] [Holding our way with a prosperous wind and good success in all things (one boy only, lost out of the bark Canter in the Bay of Portugal, excepted.)]—*Sloane MS.* p. 3.]

[2] [Whence by continueing along the land of Barbaria, wee sayled neere to the citty of Lions, which sometime is said to have been a citty of great fame, being frequented with marchants out of many nations and kingdoms; but the inhabitants being proud and exceeding in all other wickednesses, the Lord sent an army of lyons upon them, whoe spareing neither man, woman, nor child, but consumeing all from the face of

* Rendezvous. † Cape Cantin in lat. 32 N., long. 10 W.

December 25, Christmas day in the morning. The shoare is faire white sand, and the inland contrie very high and mountainous, it lieth in 32 deg. 30 mi. north latitude, and so coasting from hence southward, about 18 leagues, we arriued the same day at *Mogadore,* the Iland before named.

This *Mogadore* lies vnder the dominion of the king of *Fesse,* in 31 deg. 40 mi., about a mile off from the shoare, by this meanes making a good harbor betweene the land and it. It is vninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very

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the earth, took the city in possession to themselves and their posterity to this day, whereof it is named *Civitas Leonum* ever since; from whence, being night, the lyons with great fierceness came foarth rageing along the shoare with fearfull roreings and cryes, making many offers to enter the sea and to make a prey of our boate rowing along, but as their nature is not to abide the light of the sonn or of fyre, so it seemeth that they cannot endure to come in the water. Wee thence kept on our way, the next morneing came in sight of Sophia, the chief port on that side of that land, from whence beeing discovered by the inhabitants afar off they sent out two shipps against us in all hast, if happily we had been those whom they hoped for and whose comeing they desired: but suspecting wee were not the same, sodainly they returned into harborow againe: and wee quietly kept our way till we chanced with a little island some miles from the maineland, named Mogador, to the southward of Sophya, where finding a good roade for our fleete, and a fitt place for the setting up of a pinnis for our necessary uses upon that coast, wee came to anchor. Now the reason why the Sophinites did send forth their shipps to meet us, was for that there was present warrs in hand betweene the two kinges, the one of Moroccho, which was the nephew, and the other which was of the blackmoors, which was the uncle, and being ready in the field with theyr armyes the only stay they entered not into battle (who should reigne), was for that the King of Portugal was daily expected to come with his power to ayd the King of Morocho against the usurper his uncle, and wee being supposed to be the fore runners of the King of Portugals fleet, they intended to satisfye themselves therein by sending out towards us to dissuade us if it had been possible."]—*Sloane MS.* p. 3.

high land, all ouergrowne with a kind of shrub brest high, not much vnlike our priuet, very full of Doues, and therefore much frequented of Goshaukes, and such like birds of prey, besides diuers sorts of sea-foule very plentie. At the south side of this Iland are three hollow rocks, vnder which are great store of very wholesome but very vglie fish to look to. Lying here about a mile from the maine, a boate was sent to sound the harbor, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side about 5 or 6 fathome water (but at the souther side it is very dangerous), we brought in our whole fleet, *December* 27, and continued there till the last day of the same moneth, imploying our leisure the meane while in setting vp a pinnace, one of the 4 brought from home in peices with vs. Our abode here was soone perceiued by the inhabitants of the contrie, who comming to the shoare, by signes and cries made shewe that they desired to be fetched aboard, to whom our generall sent a boate, into which 2 of the chiefest of the *Moores* were presently receiued, and one man of ours, in exchange, left a land, as a pledge for their returne.

They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a daintie banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that they might thereby vnderstand that this fleete came in peace and friendship, offering to traffique with them, for such commodities as their contrie yeelded, to their owne content. This offer they seemed most gladly to accept, and promised the next day to resort againe, with such things as they had to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drinke no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleaseth them well to haue it abundantly, as here was experience. At their returne ashoare, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed, and the next day at the houre appointed returning againe, brought with them Camells, in shewe loaden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities, and calling for a boate in haste, had one sent them,

according to order, which our generall (being at this present absent) had given before his departure to the Iland.

Our boate comming to the place of landing (which was among the rocks), one of our men, called *John Fry*, mistrusting no danger nor fearing any harme pretended by them, and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order vsed the day before, readilie stept out of the boate and ranne a land, which opportunitie (being that which the *Moores* did looke for) they tooke the aduantage of, and not onely they which were in sight layed hands on him to carrie him away with them, but a number more, which lay secretly hidden, did forthwith breake forth from behinde the rocks, whither they had conueyed themselues (as it seemeth the night before), forcing our men to leaue the rescuing of him that was taken as captiue, and with speed to shift for themselues.

The cause of this violence was a desire which the king of *Fesse* had, to vnderstand what this fleet was, whether any forerunner of the kings of *Portugall* or no, and what newes of certaintie the fleet might giue him. And therefore after that he was brought to the kings presence, and had reported that they were Englishmen, bound for the straights, vnder the conduct of generall *Drake*, he was sent back againe with a present to his Captaine and offer of great curtesie and friendship, if he would vse his contry. But in this meane time, the generall being grieved with this shew of iniurie, and intending, if he might, to recouer or redeeme his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the countrie, without any resistance made against him, neither would the *Moores* by any meanes come nigh our men to deale with them any way; wherefore hauing made prouision of wood, as also visited an old fort, built sometime by the king of *Portugall*, but now ruined by the king of *Fesse*, we departed, *December* 31, towards *Cape Blanck*, in such sort, that when *Fry* returned, he found to

his great griefe that the fleet was gone; but yet, by the king's fauor, he was sent home into *England* not long after, in an English marchants ship.[1]

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[1] [But what they then could not effect by that meanes at that time, they attempted to bring to pass immediately by another practise; for noe sooner were wee come to anchor, but certaine men, as it seemed of good worth, were sent with expedition to com to our shipps, if happily they might com to know what wee were, and to put themselves out of doubt whether wee were friends or enemyes to the king of Marocco. Notwithstanding their comeing was in vaine: for they were nothing the wiser to know the thing they came for: wherein when they saw they failed, they yet used another pollicye, hopeing at the last to satisfye themselves. In subtillty therefore they as merchants offered to traffick with us such comodityes as their country yielded, as shuger, figgs, dates, and such like, for such merchandise as wee hadd and they pretended to want: wherein a mutual consent being given, they appoynted the next day that certaine camells should be brought to the shoare laden with such things for our use; and so, after a kind entertainment with a banquet, and som small gifts bestowed upon them, they departed, in hope to accomplish their purpose the next day. In the meane tyme they left neither meanes nor opertunity to bring to pass what they intended. Wherefore in the night, they haveing assigned the fittest place to serve their turne, which was a narrow creek between two bankes, they placed there among the reeds on both sydes secretly, divers solgers, well appoynted to the slawter. The houre being now com of their dissembled traffick, there appeared in sight, by estimacion, some 30 camells laden, as seemed to us, with comodityes; which being arrived at the place, they made signes to us to send our boat to fetch them to shipp board, wherein as the general was most willing, so our men were most speedy, thinking themselves the happyest men which could enter first into action; but often tymes the proverb is verefied, "More hast worse speed", for our men armeing in the place and casting no perills, one of their company, Frye by name, who sometymes being in the country, in merchant voyages, had attained to som use of their tongue (and therfore the bolder), did sodainly but unadvisedly leap out of the boat on shoare, who no sooner was landed but the barbarians layd hands upon

[1578.] Shortly after our putting forth of this harbour, we were met with contrary windes and foule weather, which continued till the fourth of January; yet we still held on to our course, and the third day after [Jan. 7] fell with cape *De Guerre*, in 30 deg. [ ]min., where we lighted on 3 Spanish fishermen called *Caunters*, whom we tooke with our new pinnace, and carried along with vs till we came to *Rio del Oro* [Jan. 13], iust under the Tropick of Cancer, where with our pinnace also we tooke a caruell. From hence till the fifteenth day, we sailed on towards cape *Barbas* [Jan. 15], where the Marigold took a caruell more, and so onward to cape *Blanck*, till the next day at night [Jan. 16].

This cape lieth in 20 deg. 30 min., shewing itselfe vpright like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the North, hauing, between it and cape *Barbas*, lowe, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the South *Guards*, called the *Crosiers*, 9 deg. 30 min. above the horizon. Within the cape we tooke one Spanish ship more riding at anchor (all her men being fled ashoare in the boate saue two), which, with all the rest we had formerly taken, we carried into the harbor, 3 leagues within the cape.[1]

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him, inforceing him with a dagger sett to his breast either to go with them or presently to dye. Who being sett upon a horse, was with all expedition carried away to the king, as wee conceived; the rest of our men in the boat, being as it was in the midd of their barbarous enemies, with much adoe most hardly escaped, being unprovided either to defend themselves or to annoy the enemies, which is a thing ever to be misliked in travellers; I mean, to be secure when they deale with such as open and knowen enemies to Christ, whom they profess. Wee haveing ended our occasion in this place, and having tasted of the fruits boath of the sea about this island, which yielded aboundance of good and most wholesom fish, as in like case the Island itself being full of long winged Barbary hawks, we departed, without any notice what was becom of our man.]—*Sloane MS.*, fol. 3, 4.

[Now we coasting along to the south ward for Cape

Here our generall determined for certaine dayes to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh victualls, for the present refreshing of our men, and for their future supply at sea (by reason of the infinite store of diuers sorts of good fish, which are there easie to be taken, euen within the harbor, the like whereof is hardly to be found againe in any part of the world), as also because it serued very fitly for the dispatching of some other businesses that we had. During the time of our abode in this place, our generall being ashoare was visited by certaine of the people of the country, who brought downe with them a woman, a *Moore*

Blank or White Cape, hadd every sale at command in the way, as if Neptune had been present, without anny resistance or refusall or resisting: when we arrived at the same cape, we found it so fair and stately, and the onely ornament of that land; but in the meane tyme, in the way saileing from Magador to this place upp in the country, did appeare a high and mighty spire, covered at topp with aboundance of snow as white as Salmon, which, notwith standing the country be exceeding hott, yet it seemeth never to be dissolved, because it reacheth so high into the colde or frozen region that the reflection of the sonn can never com to it from the face of the earth; whereby, as it is reputed, the inhabitants of Morrocho have singular benefitt, for from thence they ever continually fetch snow and bring into the citty and other places to sell in the marketts, which they use for many things, but chiefly to mix with wines and other drinks, which otherwise would (for the extreame heat of the country) be unnaturall and contagious to their bodyes. Neither may this seeme a thing strange to be used in Barbary, seeing it is ordinary in Civill* and many other places of Spaine, and that which is more, Russia, which is one of the cold countryes of the world in their winter, yet in their summer, which is exceeding hott, thei are inforced to temper their drinks with ice and snow, which they keep and preserve of purpose to that use, lest it might breed in their bodyes a generall contagion through their whole land. These things I write of my owne knowledg in my former travailes, not by report or by conjecture.]—*Sloane MS.*, fol. 4.

* Seville.

(with her little babe hanging vpon her dry dugge, hauing scarce life in herselfe, much lesse milke to nourish her child), to be sould as a horse, or a cow and calfe by her side, in which sort of merchandise our generall would not deale. But they had also Amber-greece, with certaine gummes of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water (whereof they haue great want), so that comming with their *Allforges* (they are leathern bags holding liquor) to buy water, they cared not at what price they bought it, so they might haue to quench their thirst. A very heavie iudgement of God vpon that coast! The circumstances whereof considered, our generall would receiue nothing of them for water, but freely gaue it them that came to him, yea, and fed them also ordinarily with our victualls, in eating whereof their manner was not onely vnciuill and vnsightly to vs, but euen inhumane and loathsome in itselfe.[1]

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[1] [We being com to anker in the bay of Cape Blank, before mentioned, found here certaine Portugall shipps, who, continually, as in like case other nations divers, do frequent that place, abounding with infinite stoare and great variety of good fishes, to make provision for their countries. Their often resort and long continuance in the place, bindeth the inhabitants to them in a nearer affection and good conceit than to anny other strangers, because thereby they receave from them great help and relief for their extreame necessity, as for in this they seeme to be cursed of God as a people, in whom the Lord hath no pleasure, that their country is utterly destitute of water, nor hath not any great quantity of other liquor to serve other for drink and their necessary uses, a little camells milk excepted, to save their lives, but what the Portugalls or other straungers deliver and bring to them from the islands and other places by shipping; whereout the Portugalls and other such do small advantage, for, for a little quantity of water they receive a great quantity of gold, ambergeece, and musk: as in likewise men and women slaves, where of wee ourselves had some reasonable proof and experience dureing the tyme of our stay in the place. There is not to be found in all those parts of the world a more beast-

And hauing washed and trimd our ships, and discharged all our Spanish prises, excepting one *Caunter* (for which we

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lyke people than these inhabitants about this cape, as well in manners as in religion; for their religion altogether consisteth in worshipping of the sonn, and that in this manner. They never com out of their denes till the sonn be above the Orizon, at what tyme they coming abroad, they bow their bodyes and sett their knees upon some hillock or stone, and looking towards the sonn use their devotion..... And yet I prefer them (in my opinion) before the Papists in their religion, for the ones following instinct of nature, make choice of that which in reason seemeth to be likelyest to do them good and to give them help, as the sonn of creatures most glorious extendeth its power over all, so that nothing is hidd or secret from the heat thereof, in regard whereof, they being ignorant of the Living God, and acknowledging a higher power than themselves, which they are taught by their own [?] and imbecility of nature, which by dayly experience they find in themselves, they are driven to seek som other meane for their relief; and so haveing opinion and reason onely to lead them to that which is most likely, they chuse the sonn to be their God, and worship the same as other nations of Infidels doe, knowing nor being taught no better. But the others, I mean the Pope and his malignant synagogues of Satan, who profess themselves to be the only spouse of Christ, and to have the keyes of all knowledg and power of life and death, of heaven and hell, do, against their own knowledg and profession, make them God of the base work and vile things of the earth, and fall down before them and worship them with that divine worshipp as belongs to the Eternal and euer living God, whom they profess to know, in the which work things they have no reason or spark of likelyhood of the least help or good than can be imagined to serve for that end for the which they use them, as wood, stones, metalls, bread, wines, and such like.

Touching the manners of these inhabitants, they be according to their religion and serving of their God by sacrificing to him, and no marvel. For if they use no better nor more decent behaviour before Him in whom they repose all their trust, and confidently beleeve by him onely to have all help, and delivery from misery and all extremityes, whom in that respect they feare, love, and honour; then surely they must need be

gaue to the owner one of our owne ships, viz., the *Christopher*), and one caruell, formerly bound to Saint *Iago*, which we caused to acompanie vs hither, where shee also was discharged: after six dayes abode here, we departed [Jan. 21], directing our course for the Ilands of Cape *Verde*, where (if any where) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our generall intended from thence to runne a long course (euen to the coast of *Brasill*) without touch of land. And now, hauing the winde constant at *North-East* and *East North-East*, which is vsuall about those parts, because it bloweth almost continually from the shoare, *January* the 27, we coasted *Bonavista*, and the next day after [January 28], we came to anchor vnder the Wester part (towards Saint *Iago*) of the island *Maio*, it lyeth in 15 deg. 00. high land, sauing that the North-west part stretched out into the sea, the space of a league very low, and is inhabited by subiects to the king of Portugall.

Here landing, in hope of traffique with the inhabitants for water, we found a Towne, not farre from the water's side, of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poore naked Chappell or Oratory,[1] such as small cost and charge

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careless how they behave themselves before men, with whom they compare themselves to be equall, and count them selves better than they, and often disdaine and despise them. .... After a while therefore that wee had troved (?) our men upon the land, wee addressed ourselves with all expedition on shippboard, with detestation of their religion and manners, praising our good God that He had called us into so gracious a state, and had not left us in their miserable condition of ignorance and infidellity, allmost degenerate from the course of naturall men.—*Sloane MS.*, fol. 4.

[1] [The reason of this ruin being, we considered to be, not the want of idolatrous affections in the Portugalls which possessed the island, but the generation of dronydes, I mean pyrotts, who bearing a speciall grudg and hatred against the Portugalls, in the hope of purchase, take the opportunity of this place to laye in wait for such shipps and goods

might serue and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seemeth only to make a shew, and that a false shew, contrary to the nature of a scarcrow, which feareth birds from com-

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as came eyther out of Portugall outward or from Brasilia whomward bound, makeing their stay for provision at the iland of St. Jago, another of the ilands of Cape Verde; and whilst this people make their aboad there, they were wonted to ransack the lower parts of the iland, and spoile the church, St. James, of his ornaments, and the people of what they had; by meanes wherof, the inhabitants were inforced for their more safety and quiet to fly into the more barren, remote, and mountainy partes, to purchase their peace, and to leave the lower and more fruitfull part a verry desert and waste ground without inhabitants, a little cottage or two excepted. The next morne after our arrivall we marched through the lower part of the land, in the hope of som dryed goates, but all in vain, finding neither people nor stoar-house; and though there were infinite storeage of live goates, yet they were so wilde we could do no great good. We found in the iland, though but little, yet most sweet water, bearing the taste of milke, which I conceived to be quallified from the roots of the muskadine vine, from whence it did spring, which bore the fairest and most pleasant grapes that I hadd seen in all my former travaile in any kingdom. We mett allso with two sorts of most rare fruits to grow in our parts of the world, the one named cocos, which is the same wee call *nux Indica*, and the other plantanes. And this is allso to be noted, that all the trees in this iland, as well these as others, now being the dead of winter in England, were florishing green, with blossoms and green fruit and ripe fruit upon them at once and at one tyme, that as the ripe fruit is allwayes ready to be gathered, so the green fruit cometh forward, the blossoms turne to green fruit, and new blossoms budd out: and this is the state and course of all trees betwixt the two troppicks, where the sonn is zenith east and west in the compass of the whole earth, by reason of the nearness and presence of the sonn, which many of the feather-bedd milksopps, boasting of their deep judgment in cosmographie at a smyth's forge, hamering out a globe, to make a childish bray amongst simple people, doe laugh and mock at and say it is a lye to report such things of God's great and marvailous works; and further to confirm their blind error and ignorance, their owne new forged globe must be shewed,

ming nigh; this entiseth such as passe by to hale in, and looke for commodity, which is not at all to be found there; though in the inner parts of the Iland it be in great abundance.

For when wee found the springs and wells which had beene there (as appeared) stopped vp againe, and no other water, to purpose, to bee had to serue our need, we marched vp to seeke some more conuenient place to supply our want, or at least to see whether the people would be dealt withal

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whether it be so or no; the glory whereof, when it is seen, standeth in one starr in the heavens, and that is Venus, one fish in the sea, and that is a pearch, and the earth a chaos; and yet they will lie and cogg, yea with brazen faces slander the truth believed by them which have seene such the wonderfulle works of God. About this iland, under the bankes and between them and the high water markes, do lye huge heaps of salt like drifts of snow, and most fine and perfect in nature, the aboundance whereof is such, and they daily increase so exceeding great that they serve all countryes and ilands about them, and is impossible to be consumed: but this is another wonder to our green heads, which will believe nothing but that they paint themselves upon their iron hoopes. This salt whereof I have spoken cometh, groweth, and increaseth continually, without art, skill, industrye, or labour of man; for the verry motion of the flowing of the sea, yielding to the shoare thinn wafers of saltish matter, were taken by the heat of the sonn as they did fall upon the bankes of salt and were presently kerned, to the infinit increasing of the same, so that it may seeme to be one of the wonders of the world. And so much of this Island of Maio, one of the ilands of Cape Verde, the description whereof followeth. It is a thing to be lamented that so sweet, fruitfull, and profitable a land, should either be possessed by so ungratefull ungratious a people, as are the Portugalls, or be so subject to such caterpillars of every kingdom and nation as are pirates and heenes* of the sea, but that it should be inhabited by a people fearing the Lord, to praise him for his benefitts, which he plentifully has bestowed upon it, to set forth his glory for the good of his people.]

* Hyænas?

to helpe vs therein. In this trauelling, we found the soile to be very fruitfull, hauing euerywhere plenty of figge-trees, with fruite vpon most of them. But in the vallies and low ground, where little low cottages were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also tall trees, without any branch till the top, which bare the *Coco nuts*. There were also great store of certaine lower trees, with long and broad leaues, bearing the fruit which they call *Plantanes*, in clusters together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All of these trees were euen laden with fruit, some ready to be eaten, others comming forward, others ouerripe. Neither can this seeme strange, though about the middest of Winter with vs, for that the Sunne doth neuer withdraw himselfe farther off from them, but that with his liuely heate he quickeneth and strengtheneth the power of the soyle and plant; neither euer haue they any such frost and cold, as thereby to loose their greene hew and appearance.

We found very good water in diuerse places, but so farre off from the roade, that wee could not with any reasonable paines enioy it. The people would by no meanes be induced to haue any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet and fruitfull vallies among the hils, where their townes and places of dwelling were, gaue vs leaue without interruption to take our pleasure in suruewing the island, as they had some reason not to endanger themselues, where they saw they could reape nothing sooner then damage and shame, if they should haue offered violence to them which came in peace to do them no wrong at all.

This Iland yeeldeth other great commodities, as wonderfull heards of goats, infinite store of wilde hens, and salt without labour (onely the gathering it together excepted), which continually in a maruellous quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heate of

the sunne kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours in the other adiacent ilands. Wee set sayle thence the 30 day [Jan. 30].

Being departed from *Maio*, the next day [Jan. 31] wee passed by the Iland of St. *Iago*,[1] ten leagues west of *Maio*, in the same latitude, inhabited by the Portugals and Moores together. The cause whereof is said to haue beene in the Portugals themselues, who (continuing long time lords within themselues, in the said iland) vsed that extreame and vnreasonable crueltie ouer their slaues, that (their bondage being intollerable) they were forced to seeke some meanes to help themselves, and to lighten that so heauy a burden; and thereupon chose to flie into the most mountainy parts of the island; and at last, by continuall escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now liue, with that terror to their oppressors, that they now endure no lesse bondage in mind then the *Forçatos* did before in body; besides the dammage that they daily suffer at their hands in their goods and cattell, together with the abridging of their liberties in the use of diuerse parts of the fruitfull soile of the said iland, which is very large, maruellous fruitfull, (a refuge for all such ships as are bound towards Brasill, Guiny, the East Indies, Binny, Calecut, etc.), and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore-recited, which hath much abated the pride and cooled the courage of that people, who (vnder pretence of

[1] [In saleng along this iland wee perceived the inhabitants were too superstitious, accordeing to the pope's anti-Christian traditions; for upon every cape and small head they sett up a cross, on most wherof is engraven an evill-faced picture of Christ. One of the crosses myself and others did breake down, but with great dislike as well to som of our owne company, being so much addicted to that opinion as the Portugalls themselves.]

traffique and friendship) at first making an entrance, ceased not practising vpon the poore Ilanders (the ancient remainder of the first planters thereof, as it may seeme from the coast of Guinea), vntill they had excluded them from all gouernment and liberty, yea almost life.[1]

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[1] [We coming to the southerly cape of this iland, wee discouered neare to the seasyde the towne of St. James, with a castel and blockhouse, as it should seeme well mounted with ordinance; for two ships of Portugall being lately com forth of the harborow, bound for Brasilia in a marchant voiage, we sent our pinnis to command them to repaire to our fleet, and our pinnis recovering the one which was farther off at the sea than the other, the castel applyed the pinnis with great shott to defend the shipp that was next them till shee might gett into harborow, and rescue the other which was in our power; but wee brought it away without anny harme don to our pinnis or men, being a shipp of Portugall laden with singular wines, sackes, and canaryes, with wollens and linen clothes, silkes and velvetts, and many other good comodities which stood us in that stead, that shee was the life of our voyage, the neck whereof otherwise had been broken for the shortness of our provisions.* But before I proceed anny further I am to speak somthing touching the present state of St. James his iland; the state therof by sea and land is most hard, and as I may say allmost desperate. What it is by sea by our example may easily be judged, for their shipps and goods are ever in danger, and are subject to the pleasure of dronydes, as I said before, which lay in wait continually for the most part for that purpose. Neither is their condition anny better at land, for not onely have the Portugalls enforced by their bloody cruelty the naturall inhabitants to revolt from them, and flye from their obedience into the more barren and remote partes of the iland, to purchase their peace with a harder maintenance; bandeing themselves with great power to pick their bones, never thinking a Portugall dead as long as

* The Sloane MS. here contains an account of the case of Mr. Thomas Doughty, who was made the commander of this Portuguese prize. As however his story is told more fully subsequently, we have thought it best to defer the insertion of the parallel MS. narrative till we arrive at that place.

On the South-west of this Iland we tooke a Portugall, laden the best part with wine, and much good cloth, both linnen and woollen, besides other necessaries, bound for Brazill, with many gentlemen and Marchants in her.

As we passed by with our fleet, in sight of three of their townes, they seemed very ioyfull that wee touched not with their coast; and seeing vs depart peaceably, in honour of our fleet and Generall, or rather to signifie that they were prouided for an assault, shot off two great peeces into the sea, which were answered by one giuen them againe from us.

South-west from Saint *Iago*, in 14 deg. 30 min., about twelue leagues distant, yet by reason of the height, seeming not aboue three leagues, lyeth another Iland, called of the Portugalls[1] *Fogo*, viz., the burning Iland, or fierie fornace,

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he hath scinn upon his flesh, flesh upon his bones, or one joint hanging to another; but allso the very slaves which they brought out of other countries, as Barbary, Guinea, and other places, have, by their intollerable tyrranny, pluck their necks out of their bondage and slavery by flyeing from them, and have joined them with the rest in great multitudes, with sett purpose in tyme to roote out the Portugalls from the face of the earth in that place, which surely shall be that they have deserved and daily doe; for under the heavens is there not a people that exceed them and the Spaniards in murthering and insatiable shedding the bloode of all sortes of persons, whether Infidells or Christians, men, women, and children, where they can overcom by sword or pollicye, as daily experience of their abideing everywhere teacheth, as hereafter we shall show more at large.]

[1] [We proceeding in our purpose to make provision for fresh water, passed neere to the Island of Fuego, next to the southward of St. James, which is so named of the Portugalls because it burneth continually in a most strange manner, farr exceeding Ætna in my opinion, haveing seen them both. So that it may well be sayd to be one of the rare wonders of the world, for in the north part thereof ariseth a great hill, the topp by estimacion reaching into the ayre about som six

in which riseth a steepe vpright hill, by coniecture at least six leagues, or eighteene English miles from the vpper part

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English miles or more, and is in forme like a steeples spire, being hollow within, out of the concavity whereof, the root being buried in the depths of the sea, ariseth, as out of a chimney, first a most gross thick smoake, which filleing the ayre at noon dayes when the sonn is in his greatest strength and power it might seem within the compass of it, which is great, to be eclipsed, that not one point remained, and that no palpabble darknes in the night is to be compared to it. The smoake being gon, such aboundance of flames imediatly flash out with that force and violence that it seemeth to pierce the heavens, and the light therof is so great, that in extreamest darkeness of the night it seemeth as noone day in the greatest power and light of the sonn. Thirdly, the flame being dispearsed, there followeth in the tale of it such infinite numbers of pumice-stones scattered abroad in the ayre, and that farr off, that falling downe they cover the water, and are there to be taken upp as sponges swimmeing upon the face of the seas. Last of all is cast out aboundance of heavye, black, hard substances congealed as smith's cynders, which no sooner tooch the ayre but they fall down the syde of the spire with a great noyse to the lower part, where resting, they increase continually the outside of the hill. This spectacle, at the first sight, seemed to us rare and fearefull, teaching us the great incomprehensible power of God, whose judgements are unsearchable. All these whereof wee have heard keep their courses orderly, one in the neck of another every quarter of an hour for ever without change or intermission. All this notwithstanding, the island is sweet, pleasaunt, florishing, green, and more fruitful than Maio, by how much it is nearer the sonn than it, and is inhabited allso by the Portugalls. The last southernmost Island of Cape Verde is named Brava, because it exceedeth all the rest in greeness and florishing; for although all the rest of these ilands be fresh and rare to strangers, and have brought upp children when they go abroad in travaile, yet this is so much more to be marvailed at than the others by how much more it excelleth them, the cause wherof I have said to be the nearness of the sonn, for every creature growing or liveing upon the earth, becometh so much more excellent in their kinds by how much more they have the heat and continuance of the same, which may easily

of the water; within the bowels whereof is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphury matters, seeming to be of a maruellous depth, and also very wide. The fire showeth itselfe but foure times in an houre, at which times it breaketh out with such violence and force, and in such maine abundance, that besides that it giueth light like the Moone a great way off, it seemeth that it would not stay till it touch the heauens themselves. Herein are ingendred great store of pumice stones, which being in the vehement heate of the fire caried vp without the mouth of that fiery body, fall downe, with other grosse and slimy matter vpon the hill, to the continuall increasing of the same; and many times these stones falling downe into the sea are taken vp and vsed, as we ourselues had experience by sight of them swim-

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be conceived by yearely experience in our owne country, where all things seeme to decay and seeme to be dead, the sonn being absent: but all things revive, flourish, and bring forth according to their natures by the presence of the sonn, and as the sonn's presence in our parts of the world is the cause of increase and fruitfulnes for the time that it remaineth in power with us, so is it here, that where the heat and power ever worketh as between the tropicks, it maketh a perpetuall greenes, florishing fruitfullnes, and increase, as it doth with us for the tyme, howsoever arrogant companions will have nothing to bee true but lyes where they themselves cannot gather out of a frozen mountain, or from isicles hanging at their noses in winter. This Iland being without inhabitants (one only hermit excepted, who had vowed in that place all the dayes of his life to lead a solitary life, and upon his beads to serve our Lady and Saynt James), is full of nutt trees, yielding fruit in that wonderfull sort, that it might seeme the continuall increase thereof must wearie the world to crack the nutts and eat the kernells: for other fruits wee found non to speak of, but it yieldeth plenty of sweet and pure water, the springs whereof falling downe to the sea bankes like silver streames, allmost every where may be receaved into vessels in a boat at pleasure, without anny paines or labour, and therefore a singular comfort to such which have occasion to travel that way.]

ming on the water. The rest of the Iland is fruitfull notwithstanding, and is inhabited by Portugals, who liue very commodiously therein, as in the other ilands thereabout.

Vpon the south side, about two leagues off this Iland of burning, lyeth a most sweet and pleasant Iland, the trees thereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke on, the soile almost full set with trees, in respect whereof its named the Braue Iland, being a store house of many fruits and commodities, as figges alwayes ripe, cocos, plantons, orenges, limons, cotton, etc. From the bancks into the sea do run in many places the siluer streames of sweet and wholsome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no conuenient place or roade for ships, neither any anchoring at all. For after long triall, and often casting of leades, there could no ground be had at any hand, neither was it euer knowne (as is reported) that any line would fetch ground in any place about that Iland. So that the top of *Fogo* burneth not so high in the aire, but the roote of *Braua* (so is the Iland called) is buried and quenched as low in the seas. The onely inhabitant of this Iland is an Heremit, as we suppose, for we found no other houses but one, built as it seemed for such a purpose; and he was so delighted in his solitarie liuing, that he would by no meanes abide our comming, but fled, leauing behind him the relicks of his false worship; to wit, a crosse with a crucifix, an altar with his superaltar, and certaine other idols of wood of rude workemanship.

Here we dismissed[1] the Portugalles taken neere Saint

[1] [Now the Portugalls of the shipp having been discharged and set freely at liberty, as hath been said, we reserved to our owne service only one of their company, one Sylvester, their pilot, a man well travelled both in Brasilia and most partes of India on this side of the land, who, when he heard that our travel was into Mare del Zur, that is, the South Sea, was most willing to go with us.]

Iago, and gaue to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at Mogadore; with wine, bread, and fish for their prouision, and so sent them away, *Febr.* 1.

Hauing thus visited,[1] as is declared, the Ilands of Cape *Verde*, and prouided fresh water as we could, the second of *Febr.* we departed thence, directing our course towards the straights, so to passe into the South sea; in which course wee sayled 63 dayes without sight of land (passing the line equinoctiall the 17 day of the same moneth) till we fell with the coast of Brasill, the fift of *April* following.[2]

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[1] [And so wee take our farwell from the antient knowne parts of the world or earth, to travill into the new discovered partes of the world, by the Gracious Providence of God, the God of all the world, Who, hitherto, in His singular mercy and grace, has preserved us alive to see and behold more and more of his excellent workes, and to declare his power.]

[2] [Wee continued 34 dayes without sight of land, and being now entered into *torrida zona*, that is, the burning zones, we found the vaine guesses and imagined conjectures to be untrue and false concerning the same, and the surmised opinion of the antient and great philosophers to bee contrary to appearance and experience, and indeed to reason: for wheras Aristotill, Pythagoras, Thales, and many others, both Greekes and Latins, have taught that *torrida zona* was not habitable for the exceeding heat and intollerable burneing reflection of the sonn, which suffereth, say they, no radicall moystures to abyde in nature of creatures to live, we proved the same to bee altogeather false, and the same zone to be the earthly Paradise in the world, both at sea and lande, yea the increase of things and the excellency of all God's creatures in that zone is 7 degrees above all other parts in the earth, as partly may be understood of what is spoken allready of the Ilands of Cape Verde. For although we confess that in reason the nearer the sonn the greater heat, and the longer continuance of it the more annoyance might seem to follow; yet hath God in His Providence and wisdom so tempered the same, that nothing can be more pleasant to the life of man than to live and abide therein. The only things which seemed to dislike us and be verry intollerable, was that somtymes we had thunders,

During which long passage on the vast gulph, where nothing but sea beneath vs and aire aboue vs was to be

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som few stormes, and momentary tempests, which sodenly comming were quickly gon without harme or danger, so that neyther the feeling nor the remembrance of them was ever to be compared to the exceeding delight and pleasure and fullnes of good things which daily are ingaged; for God gave water from heaven, and provided health for us of body, victualls, and things necessary for the maintenance of naturall lives, and that in the highest degree of good things, as if wee had been in the stoarhouse of His blessings, that princes could have desired. First, the sea in God's fatherly Providence did afford us both aboundance of chang and variety, and that daily, of most wholsom and rare fishes, which are not comon not to the monarches of the world, as the dolphin, *bonetta*, flying fishes, with many such others, neither did we want even to the fall of flesh continually sent us by God, beyond the expectation or reason of man; for being (by conjecture) 500 leagues from anny land, the fowls which naturally lodg and breed at land did com so infinitly to our shipps so farr off at the sea, a thing most rare, that our labour and daily exercise was to kill and eat, and to save the overplus, which was great and might have been more, if we would, for further cause to use them; and that which is stranger, they fell upon all parts of our shipps to rest themselves, takeing them as it seemed for mooring rocks, without anny feare or doubt of harme or danger, in so much they suffered themselves to be strucken dead with cudgells one by one, to be snared with lines put about their necks with poles, and to be taken with hands without motion or remooving away, as if they had been comanded of God to yield themselves to be meat for us. The dolphin and *bonetta* being fresh, are most wholsom norishment, and fitt for kings, but being salted and dried are most dangerous and contagious to breed the leprosye, or at the least pestilent feavers, as by experience I prooved in som which I did eate, which I note for a warning to travellers in hott countries. And because I have made mencion of flying fishes, which to the most part of men may seem an absurd thing, and as our green-headed carpers say, a lye, I have thought good here to sett downe the stoary and true report of them to the greater glory of that God which made them, whoe, in all His

seene, as our eies did behold the wonderfull workes of God in His creatures, which He hath made innumerable both small

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workes, is to be honored among men for whom He made them. This good and excellent creature of God, I meane the flying fish, is of the length and bigness of a reasonable pilcherd, having two finns reaching from the pitch of the shoulder to the tipp of the tayle, in length and in breadth and forme like to the wing of a swallow, and being full of small bars instead of quills, are knitt togeather with most thinn, fine, and cleare filme, wherewith she flyeth as anny fetherd fowle in the ayre. Among the fishes of the sea, my opinion is that non are to be compared to this kind in freedom from corruption and slimy nature, and so in wholsomness and purity of substance. The cause whereof I gather to be, their continuall exercise in water and ayer; for in the seas they are for the most part pursued by the sholes of the dolphins, and bonetayes are the chief whereof they live. So that if they have not another help by nature than to swimm in the water, they were like to be consumed in a short tyme out of their kind, haveing such mighty and devouring enemyes, by meanes wherof they are inforced to practise their flying in the ayre to free themselves from so present danger, which otherwise they could not scape; whose flight is wonderfull both for swiftness and heighth, for it is equall to a pidgeon in both, as allso in distance or length; for it is at least a quarter of a mile at a tyme, only this excepted, that the filme of their wings being so thinn, and the sonn hott, and the ayre subtyl, they drye speedily, and so will easily splitte in sunder or burst for want of moysture, which, if they do, they end their flight, and fall downe a prey to their enemyes into the sea. In regard whereof nature has taught them in their flying aloft to com downe head long to the water and glance their bodyes upon the upper surface hereof to wett their winges, and to continue their flight as before, wherby they go scott free from their sea persecutors for the tyme, till they fall into the like danger againe, which is often: notwithstanding the tyme of yeare, flying in the aire is joyned allso with no small perylle and danger of life, and that divers wayes; as, first, the splitting their wings, as hath been sayde; secondly, when they come into the ayer it seemeth they see nothing, or elsc their flight being so swift that they cannot stay themselves, or turn to the right or left

and great beasts, in the great and wide seas: so did our mouthes taste, and our natures feed on, the goodnesse thereof

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hand out of the way, but right south, so that whatsoever is in their way at their riseing out of the sea, in their flyeing, or at their fall, they strike their bodyes upon it and perish, by meanes wheroff we injoy many of them in our shippe, for many tymes they would flye against the topp masts and sales of our shipp, and against the bodyes of our men to doe us service, whereby the dolphin and bonetta had a just recompence of their cruelty against them; for as they be to them the principall meat where on they feed, so are they at such time their chiefest bane. Whereof we had continual experience, for we bateing our hooks with flyeing fishes, and casteing them into the sea out of the sterne of our shipps by lines, the dolphins and bonettayes would presently crush them with greedines and swallow them downe, and being fastened, offer themselves to our cooke to put them out of their torment. But the greatest spoyle whereunto these flying fishes were subject to in the ayer, was that a multitude of strange birds did ever attend upon the shoales of the dolphin and bonetta in the ayer, knoweing that when they light upon the sholes of the flying fishes, they would put them upp as a covey of partridges, and they presently as hawkes fell upon them, with all violence to make havoke, and slew 1000 before they held one fast for their owne use, wherwith they pleasured their friends, the dolphins and bonettayes, in the sea, which received them with greedynes, lookeing for more. When the foules rushed upon anny to serve their owne turne, they soared up so high as well they might be seen, where, casting their wings abroad, they descend by degrees little and little till they have picked the bones of their purchase, and so look for fresh againe. The fowles are in bignes eagles' fellows, wherof we had strang reports from our Portugall pilott, who professed to have experience of their nature and quallityes, that is, that they cannot abyde to touch the water with their feet, and therfore being never so hunger bitt, they would not take out of the sea anny slaine bodyes of the fishes they killed themselves. Againe, when they slept they mounted up into the ayer, and casting their wings abroad, descended without wakeing, fast on sleep, till they came neare to the water, which nature abhorring, they presently awake, and flying up againe to fetch out the

in such fulnesse at all times, and in euery place, as if He had commanded and enioyned the most profitable and glorious workes of His hands to waite vpon vs, not alone for the reliefe of our necessities, but also to giue vs delight in the contemplation of His excellence, in beholding the variety and order of His prouidence, with a particular tast of His fatherly care ouer vs all the while.

The truth is, wee often met with aduerse winds, vnwelcome stormes, and to vs (at that time) lesse welcome calmes, and being as it were in the bosome of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sultring heat, not without the affrights of flashing lightnings, and terrifyings of often claps of thunder; yet stil with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water, hauing neuer at all watred (to any purpose, or that wee could say wee were much the better for it) from our first setting forth out

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rest of their sleep as before. Last of all, they engender in the ayer, and never com at land but only in the tyme of layeing their eggs, which is as it were but a moment, for with all speed the female dropps her eggs in the sands, and, covering them, presently departeth, never reparing anny more to them, but leaveth them to the heat of the sonn and the nature of the sands in the providence of God to bring them forth living creatures, like to them in their kind, without showing anny spark of naturall affection towards them. The increase of the flying fish is such, that their frye do cover the face of the seas where they have spawned, which being of the bignes of gnatts, do somtimes scudd upon the superficies of the water, and sometymes, instead of flyeing, doe skipp from place to place like grashoppers, practising that being young which they must use when they be olde, the sight wherof might delight the greatest personages in the world. In these and such other pleasures did we pass away 54 dayes from the land of Africa to the coast of Brasilia, sailing all that tyme for the most part in *torrida zona*, which seemed to the great philosophers so impossible to be endured by men and other living creatures of God.]

of England till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conueniently water, till our comming to the riuer of Plate, long after) continually, after once we were come within foure degrees of the line on this side, viz., after *Feb.* 10, and till we were past the line as many degrees towards the south, viz., till *Feb.* 27, there was no one day went ouer vs but we receiued some raine, whereby our want of water was much supplyed.

This also was obseruable, that of our whole fleet, being now six in number, notwithstanding the vncouthnes of the way, and whatcuer other difficulties, by weather or otherwise, wee met withall, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest; except onely our Portugall prise for one day, who, *March* 28, was seuered from us, but the day following, *March* 29, shee found vs againe, to both her owne and our no little comfort: she had in her 28 of our men, and the best part of all our prouision for drinke; her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole companie, neither could shee then haue been finally lost, without the ouerthrow of the whole voyage.

Among the many strange creatures which we sawe, we tooke heedfull notice of one, as strange as any; to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bignes and proportion of a reasonable or middle sort of pilchards; hee hath finnes, of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the taile, bearing the forme, and supplying the like vse to him, that wings doe to other creatures. By the helpe of these finnes, when he is chased of the *Bonito*, or great mackrel (whom the *Aurata* or dolphin likewise pursueth), and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, hee lifteth vp himselfe aboue the water, and flieth a pretty height, sometimes lighting into boates or barkes as they saile along. The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finelie set together, with a most thinne and dainty filme, that they might seeme to serue for a much longer and higher flight; but the

drienes of them is such, after some ten or twelve strokes, that hee must needes into the water againe to moisten them, which else would grow stiffe and vnfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderfull creature is in a manner infinite, the fry whereof lyeth vpon the vpper part of the waters, in the heate of the sun, as dust vpon the face of the earth, which being in bignesse of a wheat straw, and in length an inch more or lesse, do continually exercise themselues in both their faculties of nature; wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not haue continued, being so desired a prey to so many, which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the ayre by flight, when they cannot in the waters liue in safety. Neither are they allwayes free, or without danger, in their flying; but as they escape one euill, by refusing the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischiefe, by mounting vp into the ayre, and that, by meanes of a great and rauening foule, named of some a *Don* or *Spurkite*, who feeding chiefely on such fish as he can come at by aduantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping aboue the same, presently ceaseth vpon them with great violence, making great havock, especially among these flying fishes, though with small profit to himselfe.

There is another sort of fish which likewise flieth in the ayre, named a *Cuttill;* its the same whose bones the goldsmiths commonly vse, or at least not vnlike that sort, a multitude of which, haue at one time, in their flight, fallen into our ships, amongst our men.[1]

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[1] [Now these two things I thought necessary to be added, which fell out in this iourney, that sometymes the water which fell out of the ayer when we came neare the Equator was so quallified of the heat of the sonn, that it falling upon the cloathes of our men, which laye in heapes or folded upp, if they were not within short tyme washed or hanged abroad, they were so burned that they would moulder in pieces as a

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternall God in the seas, as if we had beene in a garden of pleasure, *April* 5, we fell with the coast of Brasill, in 31 deg. 30 min., towards the pole Antartick, where the land is lowe neere the sea, but much higher within the countrie, hauing in depth not aboue 12 fathome, 3 leagues off from the shoare, and being descried by the inhabitants, we sawe great and huge fires made by them in sundry places, which order of making fires, though it be vniversall, as well among Christians as heathens, yet it is not likely that many doe vse it to that end which the Brasilians doe: to wit, for a sacrifice to deuills, whereat they intermixe many and diuers ceremonies of coniurations, casting vp great heapes of sand, to this end, that if any ships shall goe about to stay vpon their coasts, their ministring spirits may make wrack of them, whereof the Portugalls by the losse of diuers of their ships, haue had often experience.[1]

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piece of loose earth; and, secondly, when wee were within one degree of the Æquinoctiall line, or here-abouts, wee lost the sight of the North Pole, and not afore, and allso being so much to the southward of the line, wee had in sight the South Pole; between the guardes wherof we found great difference, at what tyme the sonn was our zenith our bodyes hadd or gave no shaddow at all, but right downe to our feet. Whereunto allso let me putt the third, a thing worthy the noteing, that in our passing from our country, being winter, lice increased infinitely on the cloathes of our men, and were a great plague to many; but no sooner were wee com within the burning zone, but they all dyed and consumed away of themselves, so that till wee came beyond the southerly tropick to Brasilia, there was not to be found one among us.]

[1] [After so long but a sweet pleasant travaile, before remembred, by the Providence of God we chanced and fell in the sight of Brasilia, where at the first the land seemed to make us a faire offer of opertunity to do that we had long desyred and now was most necessary for us, that is, to trim our shipps, being very fowle, for the land seemed to be verry

In the reports of Magellanes voyage, it is said that this people pray to no maner of thing, but liue only according to

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pleasant, a fare bay, and a sandy ground, fitt for our purpose, and to incourage the rather, som of the people being in sight did shew themselves very joyful to see us in drawing to stand inward towards their land: but the case was quickly altered, sweet meates would have sower sawce, and long delights was likely to have sower gaule and bitterness; for we had not longer held our way inward but the sight of land was taken from us, and that sodainly, with such a hasynes as if it had been a most deadly fogg, with the palpabel darkeness of Egipt, that never a shipp could see another. In the neck wherof did follow such extreame storms as heaven and earth had gon together, and the rootes of the rocks and the bottom of the sea should have been discovered, and that which was a signe of a desperat state to utter destruction, wee were upon a lee shore, and the shoales increased upon us. So that if the Portugall pilot had not ben apointed of God to do us good, we had perished without remembrance; for he being well acquainted with the bloudy government of the Portugalls, was not ignorant of this part of countrye; and knowing the present danger, he presently cryed a returne as we could, or els no way but iminent death, wherein, though we made all possible speed, yet one of our shipps touched with the shoales, but by God's Providence came cleere away, and being cast about to the seas, even against the streames, our fleet was so separated that in many monthes after we came not together againe. Now the pilot being in the Admiral, the question was whether he could give anny reason of so sodain an alteracion, and so extreame an accident to fall out against us in this place; whose answer was, that such was the tyranny of the Portugalls towards the naturall inhabitants, that rather than they would endure their intollerable and bloody cruelty, they willingly exile themselves and banish themselves from their naturall soile and inheritances, to dwell in the far remote and unfruitfull partes of the land, where being settled, the unmercifull and murthering Portugals could not be contented with the fatt of their land, but they must pursue the poore and harmles people to root them out, their wives, and children, from the face of the earth. Wherefore this people, which before did live by the instinct of nature, were now

the instinct of nature; which if it were true, there should seeme to be a wonderfull alteration in them, since that time, being fallen from a simple and naturall creature to make Gods of Deuills. But I am of the minde, that it was with them then, as now it is, onely they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practise, which now they haue; for then, they liued as a free people among themselues, but now, are in most miserable bondage and slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life itselfe to the Portugalls, whose hard and most cruell dealings against them forceth them to flie, into the more vnfruitful parts of their owne land, rather there to starue, or at least liue miserably with libertie, then to abide such intollerable bondage as they lay vpon them, using the aforesaid practises with deuills, both for a reuenge against their oppressors and also for a defence, that they haue no further entrance into the country. And supposing

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driven to yelde themselves into the hands of divells, and took them for their patrons and protectors against their bodily enemies the Portugalls, haveing them allwayes their familiars; who, when they see any shipps upon their coasts, the shoare being sandy, they cast the sand up into the ayre, whereof ariseth sodainly such a haziness as a most gross and thick fogg, that there followeth a palpable darkenes that the land cannot be seen, no nor the heavens; besides this, they hurle the sand into the heavens, which as they increast, so the shoales increast in the way of the shipps in the seas to ground them; and withall such horrible, fearful, and intollerable winds, raines, and stormes, that there is no certainty of life one moment of tyme, whereof we had present experience, and had perished, if God had not in His mercy and power prevented the same. By this meanes did they continually overthrow the Portugalls, when they came with their armies of men, and their *armathos*, that is, their huge shipps of warr against them; whereof many had been cast away, and non that ever cam in the dance did ever escape: and they supposing us to be Portugalls, and therefore their deadly enemies, being not acquainted with anny other people to frequent their land, they did practise against us as against them.]

indeed that no other had vsed trauell by sea in ships, but their enemies onely, they therefore vsed the same at our comming: notwithstanding, our God made their deuilish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling with this coast) forcible stormes and tempests, yet did we sustaine no dammage, but onely the seperating of our ships out of sight for a few dayes. Here our Generall would haue gone a shore, but we could finde no harbor in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, *Aprill* 7, we had a violent storme for the space of 3 hours, with thunder, lightning, and raine in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south winde directly against vs, which caused a seperation of the *Christopher* (viz., the Caunter which wee tooke at Cape *Blanck*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she henceforward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

After this, we kept on our course, sometime to the sea ward, sometimes toward the shoare, but alwayes southward, as neere as we could, till *Aprill* 14, in the morning, at which time wee passed by Cape *Saint Mary*, which lies in 35 deg., neere the mouth of the riuer of Plate; and running within it about 6 or 7 leagues along by the maine, we came to anchor in a bay vnder another cape, which our Generall afterwards called Cape *Ioy*, by reason that the second day after our anchoring here, the Christopher (whom we had lost in the former storme) came to us againe.

Among other cares which our Generall tooke in this action, next the maine care of effecting the voyage itselfe, these were the principall and chiefly subordinate: to keepe our whole fleet (as neere as possible we could) together; to get fresh water, which is of continuall vse; and to refresh our men, wearied with long toyles at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunitie of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, and publique notice thereof giuen at our departure from the Ilands of Cape *Verde*, that the

next Randeuous, both for the recollecting of our nauy (if it should be despersed) as also for watering and the like, should be the riuer of Plate; whither we were all to repaire with all the conuenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arriue there all together; and the effect wee found answerable to our expectations, for here our seuered ship (as hath beene declared) found vs againe, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country hereabout is of a temperate and most sweet aire, very faire and pleasant to behold, and besides the exceeding fruitfulnesse of the soile, its stored with plentie of large and mightie deere.[1]

[1] [Near unto the which place we had a great rock or a little Iland, or rather indeed an Isthmus, whereon did lodg and breed continually that sort of beast which the Spaniard nameth the sea-wolfe, but, indeed, it is Vitulus Marinus, the sea-calfe, whereof being many, we killed som stoare, and found them not only good meat, and specially the young ones, but profitable in respect of their fatnes, yielding aboundance of oyle, as allso in respect of their skinns, which being thick and spongy may seem to make verry good buff, and serve for many other uses if they were in hands of skilfull men. The only way to kill them speedily is to strike them upon the nose with a cudgell, for no other place can hurt them; and they be of great strength, and caste stones and gravel mightely with their hinder feet at them which pershew them in their flying: with great violence they hurle them themselves into the sea, and often tymes take their young ones on their backs with them. They feed alltogether in the day tyme in the sea, and lodg at land as hath been sayed. Their oyle is so subtill that it pierceth through anny substance it is put on, and is a present help for outward inflamacions in anny members, whereof divers of our men had good experience by my directions to their great comfort. Upon the main land above this rock, wee chanced with a plant verry rare and strange to all herballs which I have seene in anny language, haveing but one leafe, and the stemm riseing in the midest, with the fruit on eyther syde of the stem and round about the edges of the leafe; the leafe is a gross and thick substance, at the least a hand's breadth, or

Notwithstanding that in this first bay wee found sweet and wholsome water, euen at pleasure, yet the same day [*Apr.* 16], after the arriuall of the Caunter, we remoued some twelue leagues farther vp into another, where we found a long rocke, or rather Iland of rocks, not farre from the maine, making a commodious harbor, especially against a Southerly wind: vnder them we anchored and rode till the 20. day at night, in which meane space we killed diuers Seales, or sea wolues (as the Spaniard cals them), which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to vs for the present, and a good supply of our prouision for the future.[1] Hence,

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rather halfe a foote, and in height more or less than halfe a yard; of the one side green and full of white specks, as the belly of a toad, and the other perfect green and freyed over with a kind of whitish small down or cotton, full of pricks of a poisonned nature, which, being but touched com off, and being touched of anny cloak, conveyes themselves into it so close that they cannot be gott out again: if they come to touch their body they convey their poyson into the poores of the skinn, and works there a most vile effect, raiseing redd and fiery pimples, with extreame itching and burneing, to the tormenting of the body in som extreamity till they have consumed their full poyson: where with divers of oure men were mightily afflicted; for the fruit being pleasant they gathered aboundance of it to bring on shippboard, and putteing them in their boasomes within their shirtes, or in their pocketts, and som in their hattes, they had sower sauce with their sweet meat, the fruit being wholsom. The juice of the leafe is poyson, wherewith it is thought they poyson their arrows.]

[1] [Having filled some vessels we were ready to depart, in hope to meet with our shipp yet wanting, being our Portugall prize we took at Cape Verde, upon the coast of Africa, whereof Thomas Drake was captaine, for whom great care was taken; but our men being on shoare, wee stayed som thing the longer for them, who being returned gave us to understand that the country was full of partridges and of most large bodyes, bigger much than in England, as in like

April 20, we waighed againe and sayled yet further vp into the riuer, euen till we found but three fadome depth, and

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case they found the print of the feet in the soft ground, the bredth whereof was the length of one of our men's feet of largest size, which could be no other than the foote of a giant, so that wee coniectured that the giants did possess som part of Brasilia on the North syde of the riuer of Plate. Wee departeing the same day out of this riuer, made a coniecture of the mouth of it from Northerly to Southerly Cape to bee about 10 leagues. No sooner had wee recovered the South Cape, but wee were againe sodainly ouertaken with such an intollerable storme, that it might seeme that the familiars of Brasilia had followed us: in so much that one of our shipps was separated from our fleet, and the rest kept company verry hardly. Wee thus coasting along, perceaved that the maine land from the river of Plate to the Streight of Magilan is wholly inhabited of the giants, being at the least in length 20 degr., at 17 leagues to a degr., which cometh to 1020 English miles; for wee touched with no land any where alongst that land where wee mett not with them in great numbers, as in the 47th degree, to the Southward of the Line, the fleet making a stay to look for the coming of the shipps, which were not yet com, after a most deadly tempest hadd in that place. And herewith the Generall with som of his company went on shoare, where the giant men and women with their children repaired to them, showing themselves not only harmless but also most ready to do us any good and pleasure: yea they showed us more kindness than many Christians would have donn, nay more than I have for my own part found among many of my brethren of the ministry in the Church of God, at whom in my own country; for no sooner were we landed but they pittyed our case, being so weather beaten, and had ben in so great danger, wherefore they were most dilligent to do anny good to us, and with all expedition brought to us som such victualls as their country yielded in most kind and familiar sort, thincking themselves most happy as they could first do us anny pleasure. The chief victualls wee received from them was the flesh of Ostrigges, whereof their land is full, and is the greatest provision their country yeeldeth for their diet and feeding, whereof no part of the body is to be taken but onely the leggs, which are bigger than the greatest

that we roade with our ships in fresh water ; but wee staid not there, nor in any other place of the riuer, because that

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leggs of mutton in the province of Peru, and the meat thereof is equall to anny red deare. The rest of the body is but scin and bones, without anny substance of flesh to be picked, —no scarce for a sparrow. They cannot flye, their feathers are so weak, but runn most swiftly, both because their leggs are long, and they beat their stubb wings in the ayer, in their running, to give them a lighter motion. Neither can the inhabitants take them by any means as we could perceive, by shott, by courseing of doggs, nor other wayes, but onely by pollicye, which, because it is a rare conceipt and strange practise to bring so hard a thing so easily to pass, I have thought it not amiss here to insert the manner thereof. The order of the ostriges is in great companyes to graze together, and to go in order one after an other, as ducks do to the water, and to alow one as chieftaine over all the rest, of every companye, who, haveing authority to comaund, goeth before the rank in the first place, travelling still in their feeding. Now if any amongst them shews themselves disordered, the leader correcteth them with a chiding voice, which, if he obey not at the first, then the captain or guide observing which way the disordered ostridge declineth, he frameth himself to go the contrary, as, if he declineth to go to the right hand, he goeth to the left hand, and so the contrairy to draw the straggler into his place againe, and that with continuall chideing and majesty untill hee bring him into order with the rest, to follow directly as others do, which manner of discipline amongst them being observed by the giants, hereof they take advantage to make a comon slaughter of them at their pleasure, whose policye or practise is this : they first assigne a place for the slaughter, in som straight or narrow passage between two hills or bankes, eyther naturall or made by art in some thickett of wood, where secretly men, women, and doggs lye close out of sight, prepared with bowes and arrowes, stones, cudgells, and netts. Those things thus ordered, one of the company being naked, as all the rest are, putts upon his head and the upper partes of his body the cask of an ostridg, and going stooping-wise seemeth to graze in his going, as other ostridges doe, mending his pace to overtake the company of them, to whom, when he cometh, he placeth himself

the winds being strong, the shoales many, and no safe harbour found, we could not without our great danger so haue done. Haling therefore to seaward againe, the 27 of the same moneth (after that we had spent a iust fortnight in that riuer, to the great comfort of the whole fleet), we passed by the South side thereof into the maine. The land here lieth South, South-west, and North N.E., with shole water, some three or foure leagues off into the sea: its about 36 deg. 20 min. and somewhat better South latitude.

At our very first comming forth to sea againe, to wit, the same night [*April* 27], our fly boate, the Swanne, lost company of vs: whereupon, though our Generall doubted nothing of her happy comming forward againe to the rest of the fleete, yet because it was grieuous to haue such often losses, and that it was his duty, as much as in him lay, to preuent all inconueniences besides that might grow; he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men into lesse roome, that both the fewer ships might the better keepe company, and that they might also

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in the taile of all, and cometh hindermost, and then beginneth his practise to effect his purpose; for when hee seeth they go not the way he would have them, he beginneth to go out of order; if he would have them go to the right hand, then he declineth out of his place to the left hand and to the contrary, whereby the leader, as correcting his error, turneth so long contrary to him to the one or the other hand, till he come into the course that he would have him to hold to their own destruction, and then he keepeth his place and order as others do, so long as they be the direct way to the place: no sooner are they com within the jurisdiction of the place, the netts being sett, but casteing of his ostridg case, they stricken with feare runn forward and desperately fall into the netts, and all the people with doggs and their instruments fall upon them, not suffering anny one to escape from the slaughter: of these, being dryed upon the rock in the sonn in somer, they make their winter provision for victualls.]

bee the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of prouision and men, one to ease the burthen of another: especially for that he saw the coast (it drawing now toward Winter here) to bee subiect to many and grieuous stormes. And therefore he continued on his course, to find out a conuenient harbour for that vse; searching all that coast from 36 to 47 degrees (as diligently as contrary winds and sundry stormes would permit), and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean time, viz., *May* 8, by another storme the Caunter also was once more seuered frō vs.

May 12 wee had sight of land, in 47 deg., where we were forced to come to anchor in such roade as we could find for the time. Neuerthelesse our Generall named the place cape *Hope;* by reason of a bay discouered within the hedland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbour. But by reason of many rockes lying off from the place, wee durst not aduenture with our ships into it without good and perfect discouery beforehand made.

Our Generall, especially in matters of moment, was neuer wont to relye onely on other mens care, how trusty or skilfull soeuer they might seeme to be; but alwayes contemning danger, and refusing no toyle, he was wont himselfe to be one, whosoeuer was a second, at euery turne, where courage, skill, or industry, was to be imployed; neither would hee at this time intrust the discouery of these dangers to anothers paines, but rather to his owne experience in searching out and sounding of them. A boat being therefore hoised forth, himselfe with some others the next morning, *May* 13, rowed into the bay; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the countrey shewed himselfe vnto him, seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shooke in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

But there was sudainly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fogge, together with an extreame storme and tempest, that our Generall, being now 3 leagues

from his ship, thought it better to returne, then either to land or make any other stay; and yet the fogg thickened so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them, and if Captaine Thomas (vpon the abundance of his loue and seruice to his generall) had not aduentured with his ship to enter that bay in this perplexitie, where good aduice would not suffer our ships to beare in, while the windes were more tolerable, and the ayre cleerer, we had sustained some great losse, or our Generall had been further endangered, who was now quickly receiued abord his ship; out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety; but our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremitie of the storme, that they were forced to run off to sea for their owne safegard, being in good hope onely of the good successe of that ship which was gone in to relieve our generall. Before this storme arose, our Caunter, formerly lost, was come in the same day vnto vs into the roade, but was put to sea againe, the same euening, with the rest of the fleete.

The next day, *May* 14, the weather being faire, and the windes moderate, but the fleete out of sight, our Generall determined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of fires, giue signes to the dispersed ships to come together againe into that roade, whereby at last they were all assembled, excepting the *Swanne*, lost long time before, and excepting our Portugall prise, called the *Mary*, which waighing in this last storme the night before, had now lost company, and was not found againe in a long time after.

In this place (the people being remoued vp into the country, belike for feare of our comming) we found neere vnto the rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in diuers other places, great store of Ostriches, at least to the number of 50, with much other foule, some dried and some in drying for their prouision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of their dwellings. The Ostriches thighs were in bignes

equal to reasonable legs of mutton. They cannot flie at all; but they runne so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for a man in running by any meanes to take them, neither yet to come so nigh them as to haue any shot at them either with bow or peece; whereof our men had often proofe on other parts of that coast, for all the countrey is full of them. We found there the tools or instruments which the people vse in taking them.

Among other meanes they vse in betraying these ostriches, they haue a great and large plume of feathers, orderly compact together vpon the end of a staffe, in the forepart bearing the likenesse of the head, necke, and bulke of an Ostrich, and in the hinder part spreading itselfe out very large, sufficient (being holden before him) to hide the most part of the body of a man. With this it seemeth they staulke, driving them into some straite or necke of land close to the sea-side, where spreading long and strong nets, with their dogs which they haue in readinesse at all times, they ouerthrow them, and make a common quarry. The countrey is very pleasant and seemeth to be a fruitfull soyle.

Being afterwards driuen to fall with this place againe, we had great acquaintance and familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our comming, and in our friendship, in that wee had done them no harme. But because this place was no fit or conuenient harbor for vs to do our necessary business, neither yet to make much prouision of such things as we wanted, as water, wood, and such like, we departed thence the 15 of *May*.

At our departure hence, we held our course South and by West, and made about 9 leagues in 24 houres, bearing very little sayle, that our fleet might the easier gett vp with vs, which by reason of contrary windes were cast asterne of vs.

In 47 deg. 30 min. we found a bay, which was faire, safe, and beneficiall to vs, very necessary for our vse, into which we haled, and anchored *May* 17, and the next day, *May* 18,

we came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full fifteene dayes.

The uery first day of our arriuall here, our Generall having set things in some order, for the dispatch of our necessary busines, being most carefull for his two ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward Captaine Winter in the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, himself in the admiral going forth northward, into the sea, to see if happily they might meet with either of them; at which time, by the good prouidence of God, hee himselfe met with the *Swanne*, formerly lost at our departure from the riuer of Plate, and brought her into the same harbor the same day, where being afterward vnloaden and discharged of her fraight, shee was cast off, and her iron-worke and other necessaries being saued for the better prouision of the rest: of the remainder was made firewood and other implements which we wanted. But all this while of the other ship, which wee lost so lately in our extremitie, we could haue no newes.[1]

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[1] [Where into we being entered, we found within a faire and large iland, where into som of our men being sent, to see what good things it would yield for our maintenance during the tyme of our abode to do our buisines. They found it a stoare-house of victualls for a king's army; for such was the infinite store of eggs and birdes, that there was no footeing upon the ground but to tread upon the one or the other, or both, at euery stepp; yea the birds was so thick and would not remoove, that they were enforced with cudgells and swords to kill them to make our way to goe, and, the night draweing on, the fowles increased more and more, so that there was no place for them to rest in; nay, every third bird could not find anny roome, in so much that they sought to settle themselves upon our heads and shoulders, armes, and all parts of our body they could, in most strange manner, without any feare; yea they were so speedy to place themselves upon us, that one of us was glad to help another, and when no beating with poles, cudgells, swords, and daggers would keep them off from our bodyes, wee were driven with our hands to pull them away one from another, till with pull-

While we were thus employed, after certaine dayes of our stay in this place, being on shoare, in an Iland nigh vnto the maine, where at lowe water was free passage on foot from the one to the other, the people of the country did shew themselues vnto vs with leaping, dancing, and holding vp their hands, and making outcries after their manner; but being then high water, we could not go ouer to them on foot. Wherefore the General caused immediatly a boat to bee in readinesse, and sent vnto them such things as he thought would delight them, as knives, bells, bugles, etc. Whereupon they beeing assembled together vpon a hill, half an English mile from the water side, sent downe two of their company, running one after the other with a great grace, trauersing their ground as it seemed after the manner of their warres, by degrees descending towards the waters side very swiftly. Notwithstanding drawing nigh vnto it, they made a stay, refusing to come neere our men; which our men perceiuing, sent such things as they had, tyed with a string vpon a rod, and stucke the same vp a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it. And assoone as our men were departed from the place, they came and

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ing and killing wee fainted, and could not prevaile, but were more and more overcharged with featherd enemies, whose cryes were terrible, and their poder and shott poisoned us even unto death, if the sooner wee had not retired and given them the field for the tyme. Wee therefore takeing with us sufficient victuall for the tyme present, took fitter opertunity of tyme the next day, and at all other tymes, to take revenge upon so barbarous adversaryes, and to weaken their power. The reason of this boldenes and want of fear I gather to bee, because they never knew what a man ment before; for no people ever frequenting those partes, but onely the giants the inhabitants, they were never beaten or disquieted to breed in them anny dislike, for the giants themselves never use boates or com upon the water, nor so much as touch water with their feet, if they can by anny meanes avoide it.]

tooke those things, leauing instead of them, as in recompence, such feathers as they vse to weare about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a toothpick, carued round about the top, and in length about six inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our Generall, with diuers of his gentlemen and companie, at low water, went ouer to them to the maine.[1]

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[1] [Yet would they have non of our company, till such tyme they were warranted by oracle from their god Settaboth, that is, the Divell, whom they name their great god; wherefore the company which were next unto us, haveing with them upon the hill their priest or prophet, did presently frame themselves together to doe such worship and offer such sacrifices as were apointed to them to obtaine an answere from him by their prophet what they should do.....Which done, the prophet leaveing them standing in their order, departed for the tyme from them into som secret place under the side of the hill, where Settaboh appeared unto him to give him his oracle to bring unto them, that they might know what they should doe, that is, whether they should be acquainted with us or noe. Now when the prophet came to them againe he seemed to be changed in shape, for even as Settaboh appeared vnto him, he in shew and outward apearance came to them, haveing on his head before, standing upright, little hornes, and two long and broad black feathers, whoe thus coming to them and walking up and downe as before, honoured him with boweing their bodies towards him, who makeing to them another speech, apointed them to the sonn with his hand as before, to the which they did againe offer the like worship, as at the first; the like whereof they do daily, at the riseing and the setting of the sonn, upon every hill in their assemblies; but in a long tyme they would not receave annything out of our hands, except we cast it downe upon the ground....For the which purpose they used this word, *Toyt*, that is, Cast it downe; and when they tooke it, if they either disliked the thing or the price they would say *Corah*, but if they liked the bargaine, then with a smileing countenance they said, *Chiloh*. Wee thus useing them with great kindenes, they became more and more familiar with us, in so much that they w[d] not absent themselves from our company anny day, yea som of them in short time would not

Against his comming they remained still vpon the hill, and set themselues in a ranke, one by one, appointing one of

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onely receive things at our hands without *Toyt*, but would in like case, if they liked annything they saw, boldely take it themselues without offer made unto them. Inso much, one of them standing by the Generall, and seeing upon his head a scarlet sea-capp, seeming to be delighted in the colour, he boldely took it from his head and put it upon his owne, who feareing lest the Generall should dislyke with him for it, presently took an arrow, and setting out his legg, did deepely wound the calfe of the same with it, and receiving the blood in his hands offered it to the Generall, seeming hereby to signifie to him that he loved him so dearely that he would give his blood for him, and that therefore he should not be angry for so small as a capp. Att the same tyme, another of the giants, standeing with our men takeing their morneing draughts, shewed himself so familiar with us, that he allso would do as they did, who takeing the glass in his hand (being strong Canary wine) it came not to his lipps when it tooke him by the nose, and so sodainly entred into his head, that he was so drunke, or at the least so overcom with the spirit of the wine, that he fell flatt upon his buttock, not able to stand anny longer, so that his company began to startle as if we had slaine the man ; but yet he, holdeing the glass fast in his hand, without shedding of the wine, thought to trye againe, when he came to himselfe, if he could have anny better luck sitting than standing : he smelled so long and tasted so often, that at the last he drew it to the bottom, from which tyme he tooke suche likeing to wine, that haveing learned the word, he every morneing would com downe the mountaines with a mighty crye of wine, wine, wine, till he came to our tent, and would in that tyme have deuoured more wine at a tyme than twenty men could have done, never ceasing till he had his draught every morneing.....
Neither have they anny great need to clothe their bodyes for the colde, for though they be naked they have a speciall defence to keep out the ayer, that it pierce not to offend nature; for no sooner are their children brought into the world, but the mother bringeth them betweene two or more fyers made of purpose, in the midest whereof between them, haveing layed a padd of rushes, she layeth the childe, and basteth the body with the oyle of ostrigges, mixed with som

their company to runne before them from the one end of the ranke to the other, and so backe againe, continually East

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chawke or oare of sulpher, or som other such matter, which being rubbed one in the heat of the fier, entereth in the pores of the skinn and stoppeth them. Useing this daily it groweth to a verry habitt, and yet hindreth nothing the growth and increase of the partes and members; for though the ingredients mixed with the oyle must needs be a bindeing matter or substance, yet it is so quallified with the oyle, that it never groweth to that hardnes that it hindereth nature at all to worke its effect...The men have holes boored through the middle gristle of the nose and through the neather lip, with a pegg of wood or bone, finely burnished, of three or four inches long, put in either of them, standing like a cross to make them seeme terrible to the enemye. The men have allso their haire growing at length as nature will yield, and is never cut all the dayes of their lives, which being loosed out at large covereth all their bodyes to the buttocks, and lower much sometymes, but for the most part they bind it up with a hair lace of ostrige feathers, and make it a stoar house for all things (their bowes excepted) they carry about them; so that it is a quiver for their arrowes, a sheath for their knives, a case for their tooth picks, and a box for their fier sticks, and what not. Wheresoever they take their victuall there they feede, and making a fier, cast it by bitts of six pounds weight into the flame till it be a little scorched, and, takeing it out, tare it in peeces like lyons with their teeth, both men and women. The makeing of their fyers is strange; for they have two peeces of wood, the one as hard as holly, the other soft as firr, the one flatt, the other round. They lay the flatt peece upon their knees, and sett the hard peece upon the other, and drill it between their heads, the motion wherof doth sodainly engender such a heat that it breaketh out immediately into a flame, where with some dry rushes or other matter they receave fyer at their pleasure. Theire men being delighted much with danceing, make instruments of musick, which being made of barkes of trees, and sewed together with thredds of guttes of ostriges, like lute strings, and little stones put in them and painted over, are like our children's rattles in England, these they hang by stringes at their girdles, when they are disposed to sport themselves;... which no sooner begin to make a noise but they beginn to

and West, with holding vp his hands ouer his head, and yeelding forward his body in his running toward the rising

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dance, and the more they stirr their stumps the greater noyse or sound they give and the more their spirits are ravished with mellodye; inso much that they dance like maddmen, and cannot stay themselves unto death if som friend pluck not away the bables, which being taken away, they stand as not knowing what has become of themselves for a long tyme. In the great stormes, whereof we have spoken before, myselfe having some loss of good things spoiled in my trunck, of provision of physick for the voyage, among other things glass vialls, bottles, went to wreck, among the which, som being covered with wicker roddes, the broken glass remained within the cases, whereof one being in my hand and makeing noyse, one of the giants supposeing it to be an instrument of musick, must of necessity have it; which when he had received, he and his companions were so overcom with the sweetness of the musick, that he shakeing the glass and danceing, they all followed and danced after his pipe, over mountaines and vallies, hills and dales, day and night, till all the strings were consumed; for the glass being continually laboured did becom small powder, and wasted by little and little, quite away, and, the musick ended, the next day they came againe, but all-a-mort that their sweet instrument had lost its sound, and made great moanes to have another. They did admire at our still musick, but the sound of the trumpett, noise of the drum, and especially the blow of a gunn was terrible to them. Their munition is only bow and arowes. The string of their bowes is slack and never bent, wherewith they give a deadly blowe and send an arrow with wonderfull force. Now as we have spoken of the men giants, so it is not amiss we speak some what of their women. First, then, afore as the men in height and greatnes are so extraordinary that they hold no comparison with anny of the sones of men this day in the world, so the women are answerable to them in stature and proportion every waye; and as the men never cutt their haire, so the women are ever shorne, or rather shaven, with a razor of a flint stone, whereof they make all their edged tools and cutt one of them with another.... We could not perceive that this people hadd any sett government, that they live as they list; except they dwelling toge-

and setting of the Sunne, and at euery second or third turne at the most, erected his body against the midst of the ranke of the people, lifting himselfe vaultingwise from the ground towards the Moone, being then ouer our heads; signifying thereby, as we conceiued, that they called the Sunne and Moone (whom they serue for gods) to witnesse, that they meant nothing towards vs but peace. But when they perceiued that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh vnto them, they seemed very fearefull of our comming.

Wherefore our Generall, not willing to giue them any way any occasion to mislike or be discomfited, retyred his company; wherby they were so allured, and did so therein confirme themselues of vs, that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without al feare diuers came down with great speed after vs, presently entring into traffique with our men. Notwithstanding they would receiue nothing at our hands, but the same must be first cast vpon the ground, vsing this word, *Zussus*, for exchange, *Tóytt*, to cast vpon the ground. And if they misliked anything, they cryed *Coróh, Coróh*, speaking the same with ratling in the throat. The wares we receiued from them were arrowes of reeds, feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

This people go naked, except a skin of furre, which they cast about their shoulders when they sit or lye in the cold; but hauing anything to do, as going or any other labour,

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ther by tribes in their severall provinces, they use their elder men to give counsell, but will admitt no comand over them. We thus happily in this place haveing finished all our occasions and businesses, as also haveing provided a good store of victualls, we were ready, being the sonnes of God, to leave the daughters of men; but at our departure we left also in this place another of our shipps, which being defaced wee cast off as we did the others for the same reasons, and so sett off to the sea, as well in hope to meet with the shipp wee lost upon the coast of Brasilia, as allso to procced on our voyage.]

they vse it as a girdle about their loynes. They weare their haire very long; but lest it might trouble them in their trauell, they knit it vp with a roll of Ostrich feathers, vsing the same rolls and haire together for a quiuer for their arrowes, and for a store house, in which they carry the most things which they carry about them. Some of them within these rolls sticke on either side of their heads (for a signe of honour in their persons) a large and plaine feather, shewing like hornes afarre off: so that such a head vpon a naked body (if diuels do appeare with hornes) might very nigh resemble diuels. Their whole brauery and setting out themselues standeth in painting their bodies with diuers colours, and such workes as they can deuise. Some wash their faces with sulphure, or some such like substance: some paint their whole bodies black, leauing onely their neckes behind and before white, much like our damosels that weare their squares, their neckes and breasts naked. Some paint one shoulder blacke, another white; and their sides and legs interchangeably, with the same colours, one still contrary to the other. The black part hath set vpon it white moones, and the white part blacke Suns, being the marks and characters of their gods, as is before noted.

They haue some commodity by painting of their bodies, for the which cause they vse it so generally: and that I gather to be the defence it yeeldeth against the piercing and nipping cold. For the colours being close layd on vpon their skinne, or rather in their flesh, as by continuall renewing of these iuyces which are layed on, soakt into the inner part thereof, doth fill vp the pores so close that no aire or cold can enter, or make them once to shrinke.

They haue cleane, comely, and strong bodies; they are swift of foot, and seeme very actiue. Neither is anything more lamentable (in my iudgment) then that so goodly a people, and so liuely creatures of God, should bee ignorant of the true and liuing God. And so much the more is this

to be lamented, by how much they are more tractable, and easie to be brought to the sheepfold of Christ; hauing, in truth, a land sufficient to recompence any Christian Prince in the world, for the whole trauell and labour, cost and charges bestowed in that behalfe: with a wonderfull enlarging of a kingdome, besides the glory of God by encreasing of the Church of Christ.

Its wonderfull to hear, being neuer knowne to Christians before this time, how familiar they became in short space with vs; thinking themselues to be ioyned with such a people, as they ought rather to serue then offer any wrong or iniurie vnto; presuming that they might be bold with our Generall as with a Father, and with vs as with brethren and their neerest friends; neither seemed their loue lesse towards vs. One of the chiefest among them hauing on a time receiued a cap of the Generals head, which he did daily weare, remouing himselfe but a little from vs, with an arrow pierced his legge deeply, causing the bloud to streame out vpon the ground: signifying thereby, how vnfainedly he loued him, and giuing therin a couenant of peace. The number of men which here did frequent our companie, were about fiftie persons. Within, in the southernmost part of this bay, there is a riuer of fresh water, with a great many profitable Ilands: of which, some haue alwaies such store of Seales or sea-wolues, as were able to maintaine a huge army of men. Other Ilands, being many and great, are so replenished with birds and foule, as if there were no other victuals: a wonderfull multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with staues, and tooke some with our hands from mens heads and shoulders, vpon which they lighted. We could not perceiue that the people of the countrey had any sort of boate or canowe, to come to these Ilands. Their owne prouision which they eate, for ought we could perceiue, was commonly raw. For we should

sometimes find the remnants of Seales all bloudy, which they had gnawne with their teeth like dogs. They go all of them armed, with a short bow, of about an ell in length, in their hands, with arrowes of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastned.

This bay, by reason of the plenty of *Seales* therein found (insomuch that we killed two hundred in the space of one houre), we called *Seale Bay*. And hauing now made sufficient prouision of victuals and other necessaries, as also happily finished all our businesses, *June* 3, we set saile from thence; and coasting along towards the pole Antartick, *June* 12, we fell in with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two dayes, spent in the discharging of our Caunter, the *Christopher*, which wee here layed vp.

The 14 day [*June* 14] we waighed againe, and kept on our course Southward till the 17 [*June* 17], and then cast anchor in another bay, in 50 deg. 20 min., lacking but little more than one degree of the mouth of the Straights through which lay our so much desired passage into the South Sea.

Here our Generall on good aduice determined to alter his course, and turne his sterne to the Northward againe, if happily God would grant we might find our ship and friends whom we lost in the great storme, as is before said. Forasmuch as (if we should enter the Straight without them in our company) it must needs go hard with them; and we also in the meanetime, as well by their absence as by the vncertaintie of their state, must needs receiue no small discomfort.

And therefore, *June* 18, in the morning, putting to sea againe, with hartie and often prayers wee ioyned watchfull industry to serue Gods good prouidence, and held on our purpose to runne backe toward the line into the same height, in which they were first disseuered from vs.

The 19 day of *June*, toward night, hauing sayled within a few leagues of port Saint *Julian*, we had our ship in sight, for which we gave God thankes with most ioyfull minds.

And forasmuch as the ship was farre out of order, and very leake, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, as well before her loosing company as in her absence, our Generall thought good to beare into Port Saint *Julian* with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place; intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them which had in their absence tasted such bitternesse of discomfort, besides the want of many things which they sustained.

Thus the next day, the 20 of *June*, we entered Port Saint *Julian*, which standeth in 49 deg. 30 min., and hath on the South side of the harbour picked rockes like towers, and within the harbour many Ilands, which you may ride hard aboard off, but in going in you must borrow of the North shoare.[1]

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[1] [When we hadd refreshed our men, the Generall with chosen men went on shore, to see what the place might afford us for our maintenance, if we should make any stay. Who no sooner landed but two young giants repaired to them, shewing themselves at the first as familiar as anny we had mett with before, insomuch they refused nothing which was offered to them at the first sight; but the thing wherein they most pleased themselves was to see one Winterye (a gentleman) to shoot an arrow out of our bowes farther at one shott than they could at twice. They thus familiarly and pleasantly spending their time, suddenly there came two other giants (old and grim weather beaten villans) to their companye, to whom our men offering the like kindeness as they had to the others, they found them nothing so tractable as they did the rest, yet being without all suspition of anny treachery to come by them, which had been necessary to have doubted. Wherefore Wintery drawing upp his bowe to send an arrow at length in their sights as before, for they sent away the two younger giants with dislike that they had been in our company, in letting goe or looseing the arrow, the string brake which belonged to the bowe, which the giants seeing, and supposeing there was no other engine of warr in the world but bowe and arrows (because they were acquainted with no other), and seeing our man to goe about

Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our Generall with certaine of his companie (viz.,

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to put to another string, tooke present advantage, and chargeing his bowe clapt an arrowe into the body of him, and through his lunges; which when one Oliver, our master gunner, perceived, he haveing a fowling piece in his hand, which was all the pieces which was carried with them, bent it at the giant, but the touch being dankish would not take fyer, for it was a misling rain, and tampering with the touch, the giant againe shott at him and struck him in the breast, and through the hart and out at the back through a ribb, a quarter of a yard at least, and presently dyed; and proceeding set fresh upon the rest, whereof not one had escaped if God had not putt an helping hand to them; for the best defence our men had was but swordes and targetts, or a block bill, which were nothing to anoy the enemye, but yet the Lord put in the Generall's hart, though nothing they had could do good to take revenge upon the enemye, that the targetts might be their safety: wherefore sodainly he caused those that had targetts should stand in the fore front, and the rest which had non, to com behinde. To this end was this don, that the targetts might receave as many arrows into them as they coulde, and if anny went by, those which stood behind should take them upp and break them, and so drive the enemy out of his arrows; which happily came to pass in short tyme, that they had but one arrow left, and no man touched with anny of the rest. Which the Generall perceiving, he then took the fowling peice in hand, and primeing it anew, made a shott at him that first began the quarrel, and strikeing him in the panch with hale shott, and sent his gutts abroad, which don they had leisure to depart, where in they were the more speedy because Wintery, which was first shott, was yet liveing, whom they brought away if happily theyr might have been anny hope of recovery; but he dyed with in few houres. With all speed, therefore, our boat being well manned, we sent for the other dead man. When our men came to him, the enemies had thrust into one of his eyes one of our arrows, as deep as they could, had taken away his capp, one of his stockens, and one of his shooes, and so left him. Who, being brought to the Island, the next day, after a sermon to put us in remembrance of our death, and uncertainty of the tyme of their examples,

Thomas Drake his brother, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winter*, *Oliuer*, the master gunner, *John Brewer*, and *Thomas Hood*), *June 22*, rowed further in with a boate to find out some conuenient place which might yeeld vs fresh water, during the time of our abode there, and furnish vs with supply for prouision to take to sea with vs at our departure; which worke, as it was of great necessitie, and therefore carefully to be performed, so did not he think himselfe discharged of his duty if he himselfe bestowed not the first trauell therein, as his vse was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieuing of our wants and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supply of what was needfull. Presently vpon his landing he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom *Magellane* named *Patagous*, or rather *Pentagours*, from their huge stature, and strength proportionable. These, as they seemed greatly to reioyce at his arriuall, so did they shew themselues very familiar, receiuing at our Generals hands whatsoeuer he gaue them, and taking great pleasure in seeing Master *Oliuer*, the master gunner of the Admirall, to shoot an English arrow, trying with him to shoot at length, but came nothing neere him.

Not long after, came one more of the same caste, but of a sowerer sorte, for he misliking of the familiarity which his fellowes had vsed, seemed very angry with them, and stroue earnestly to withdrawe them, and to turne them to become our enemies; which our generall with his men not suspecting in them, vsed them as before, and one Mr. *Robert Winter*, thinking of pleasure to shoote an arrow at length, as Mr. *Oliuer* had done before, that he which came last also might haue a

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we buried him with such honnor as in such cases marshall men used to have when they are dead, being both layd in one grave, as they both were partakers of one manner of death, and ended their lives together by one and the selfe same kind of accident.]

sight thereof, the string of his bow brake, which, as before it was a terror vnto them, so now broken, it gaue them great incouragement and boldnes, and as they thought, great aduantage in their treacherous intent and purpose, not imagining that our calliuers, swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of warre.

In which perswasion (as the Generall with his companie were, quietly without any suspition of euill, going downe towards his boate) they sodainely, being prepared and gotten by stealth behinde them, shot their arrowes, and cheifely at him which had the bowe, not suffering him to string the same againe, which he was about to haue done, as well as hee could; but being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot, and turning about, was sped with an arrow, which peirced his lunges, yet he fell not. But the M^r^ gunner being ready to shoote of his calliuer, which tooke not fire in leuelling thereof, was presently slaine outright. In this extremitie, if our generall had not been both expert in such affaires, able to judge, and giue present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himselfe into the dance against these monsters, there had no one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore, giving order that no man should keepe any certaine ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still vpon the enemie, vsing their targets and other weapons for the defence of their bodies, and that they should breake so many arrowes as by any meanes they could come by, being shot at them, wherein he himselfe was very diligent, and carefull also in calling on them, knowing that their arrowes being once spent, they should haue these enemies at their deuotion and pleasure, to kill or saue; and this order being accordingly taken, himselfe, I say, with a good courage and trust in the true and liuing God, takeing and shooting off the same peece which the gunner could not make to take fire, dispatched the first beginner of the quarrell, the same man

which slewe our Mr gunner. For the peece being charged with a bullet and haile shot, and well aimed, tare out his bellie and gutts, with great torment, as it seemed by his crye, which was so hideous and horrible a roare, as if ten bulls had ioyned together in roaring, wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding diuerse of their fellowes and countriemen appeared out of the woods on each side, yet they were glad, by flying away, to saue themselues, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our Generall chose rather to depart, then to take further reuenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loued dearly, and therefore would rather haue saued him then slaine an hundred enemies; but being past recouery, he died the 2. day after his being brought aboard againe.

That night our Mr gunners body being left ashoare, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our generall himselfe the next day, with his boate well appointed, returned to the shoare to fetch it likewise, which they found lying where it was left, but stript of his vppermost garment, and having an English arrowe stuck in his right eye.

Both of these dead bodies were layd together in one graue, with such reuerence as was fit for the earthern tabernacles of immortall soules, and with such commendable ceremonies as belong vnto souldiers of worth in time of warre, which they most truly and rightfully deserued.

Magellane was not altogether deceiued in naming them Giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bignes, and strength of body, as also in the hideousnesse of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giantlike as they were reported, there being some English men as tall as the highest of any that we could see, but peraduenture the Spaniards did not thinke that ever any English man would come thither to reproue them, and

thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie; the name *Pentagones, Fiue cubits*, viz., 7 foote and halfe, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them.

But this is certaine, that the Spanish cruelties there vsed, haue made them more monstrous in minde and manners, then they are in body, and more inhospitable to deale with any strangers that shall come hereafter. For the losse of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conueighed ouer from one generation to another among their posteritie) breedeth an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten with so quarrellsome and revengefull a people. Notwithstanding, the terrour which they had conceiued of vs, did henceforward so quench their heate, and take down their edge, that they both forgate reuenge, and seeming by their countenance to repent them of the wrong they had offered vs that meant them no harme, suffered vs to doe what we would the whole space of two monethes after this, without any interruption or molestation by them; and it may perhaps be a meanes to breede a peace in that people towards all that may hereafter this, come that way.

To this euill, thus receiued at the hands of infidells, there was adioyned and grewe another mischief, wrought and contriued closely amongst ourselues; as great, yea, farre greater, and of farre more grieuous consequence then the former, but that it was by God's prouidence detected and preuented in time, which else had extended itselfe, not onely to the violent shedding of innocent blood by murthering our generall, and such others as were most firme and faithfull to him, but also to the final ouerthrow of the whole action intended, and to diuers other most dangerous effects.[1]

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[1] [This bloody tragedie* being ended, another more greivous ensueth. I call it more greivous, because it was among

* The writer of this MS. has alluded to this obscure story about Mr. Doubty in a previous part of his MS., p. 7, where, speaking of the Portu-

These plotts had beene layd before the voyage beganne, in England: the very modell of them was shewed and declared

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ourselves begunn, contrived, and ended. For now Thomas Doughty, our country man, is called in question, not by giants, but by Christians, even ourselves. The originall of dislike against him you may read in the storye of the Ilands of Cape Verde, upon the Coast of Affrick, at his takeing the Portugall prise, by whom he was accused, and for what; but now more dangerous matter and of greater weight is layd to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the Generall's garden in Plimouth, long before our departure thence: which had been their parts and dutyes to have discovered then at that tyme, and not to have concealed them for a tyme and place not so fitting; but howsoever it was wherewith they charged him upon their oathes I know not, but he utterly denyed it upon his salvation at the houre of comuni-

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gueze ship which they had taken, he says:—"Into this shipp the General sent one Tho. Dubty, Gentelman, to be captayne; whoe, not long after his enteryng into his charge, was charged and accused by John Brewer, Edward Bright, and som others of their freinds, to have purloyned to his proper use to deceive the voyage som things of gret valew, and therefore was not to be putt in trust anny longer, least hee might robb the voyage and deprive the company of their hope, and her Majesty and other adventurers of their benefitt, to inrich himself, to make himself the greater to the overthrow of all others. In regard whereof the Generall speedily went on board the prize to examine the matter, who finding certain pares of Portugall gloves, som few peeces of mony of a strange coine, and a small ring, all which one of the Portugalls gave him out of his chest in hope of favor, all of them being not worth the speaking of: these things being found with him, not purloyned, but openly given him, and receivd in the sight of all men. The generall in discression deposed him from his place, and yet sent him in his owne stead to the Admirall, as comander of that company for the tyme in his absence; and placed Tho. Drayke, his brother, in the prise captaine, in the roome of Tho. Dubty, yet remained he there himselfe, till hee had discharged the Portugalls. In the meane tyme, the said Thom. Dubty being aboord the Admirall, was thought to be too premptorye and exceded his autority, taking upon him too great a comand; by reason whereof, such as had him in dislike tok advantag against him to complaine the second tyme, which were hard with expedition to their own contentation; for the Portugalls being sett in one pinnace with necessary provisions of victuall, whereof they rejoyced that they had scaped with their lives, thinkeing ship and goods, as they sayd, well bestowed to arive where they would, the Generall cam aboard the Admirall, and upon the second complaint remooved the sayd Doubty prisoner into the fly boat with utter disgrace." —Vide Appendix.

to our Generall in his garden at Plimmouth before his setting sayle, which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely of a person whom he loued so deerely, and was perswaded of to loue him likewise vnfainedly, or thought by loue and benefits to remoue and remedy it, if there were any euill purposes conceiued against him.

And therefore he did not onely continue (to this suspected

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cating the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and at the houre and moment of his death, affirming that he was inocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testifye the trueth, for the good things of God I found in him in the tyme we were conversant, and especially in the tyme of his afflictions and trouble, till he yeilded up his Spirit to God, I doubt not to immortality. He feared God, he loved his word, and was alwayes desireous to eddify others and confirme himself in the faith of Christ. For his quallityes, in a man of his tyme they were rare, and his gift verry excellent for his age, a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greeke tongue, and a reasonable tast of Hebrew; a suffitient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Ireland an aprovd soldier, and not behind many in the study of the law for his tyme; and that which is a suffitient argument to proove a good Christian, and of all other things a most manifest witness of a child of God to men, that he was delighted in the study, hearing, and practise of the word of God, daily exercising himselfe herein by reading, meditateing to himselfe, conferring with others, instructing of the ignorant, as if he had been a minister of Christ, wherein he profitted so much, that long before his death he seemed to be mortifyed and to be ravished with the desire of God's kingdom; yea to be dissolved and to be with Christ, in whose death so many vertues were cutt off, as dropps of blood were shed: who, being dead, was buried neere the sepulcher of those which went before him, upon whose graves I sett up a stone, whereon I engraved their names, the day of their buriall, the month and the yeare, for a monument to them, which shall fall with that place in tyme to come. Those thinges, with dropps of blood from the harts of som, thus ended, wee went about our other businesses and necessary affairs.]

and accused person) al countenance, credit, and courtesies, which he was wont to show and giue him; but encreased them, vsing him in a manner as another himselfe; giuing him the second place in all companies, in his presence; leauing in his hand the state, as it were, of his owne person in his absence; imparting vnto him all his counsells; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable; and bearing often, at his hands, great infirmities; yea, despising that any priuate iniury should breake so firme a friendship as he meant towards him. And therefore was he oftentimes not a little offended, euen with those who (vpon consciences of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise they should indeed offend) disclosed from time to time vnto him how the fire increased, that threatned his owne, together with the destruction of the whole action.

But at length perceiuing that his lenity and fauours did little good, in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practises grew dayly more and more, euen to extremities; he thought it high time to call these practises into question, before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch ouer him, and assembling all his Captaines, and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will and inward affection, more then brotherly, which he had euer since his first acquaintance borne him, not omitting the respect which was had of him among no meane personages in England; and afterwards deliuered the letters which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time which had beene obserued, not so much by himselfe as by his good friends; not onely at sea, but euen at Plimmouth; not bare words, but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the ouerthrowe of the seruice in hand, and making away of his person.

Proofes were required and alleaged, so many and so euident, that the gentleman himselfe, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and vnkinde dealing, acknowledged himselfe to haue deserued death, yea many deathes; for that he conspired, not onely the ouerthrow of the action, but of the principall actor also, who was not a stranger or il-willer, but a deare and true friend vnto him; and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands iustice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his owne hands against his owne bowells, or otherwise to become his owne executioner.

The admiration and astonishment hereat in all the hearers, euen those which were his neerest friends and most affected him, was great, yea, in those, which for many benefits receiued from him, had good cause to loue him; but yet the generall was most of all distracted, and therefore withdrewe himselfe, as not able to conceale his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to giue their iudgements, as they would another day answer it vnto their prince and vnto Almightie God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, aboue 40 in number, the chiefest of place and judgement in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diuersly of the case, and alleaged whatsoeuer came in their mindes, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their owne hands, vnder seale, adiudged that: *He had deserued death: And that it stoode, by no meanes with their safety, to let him liue: And therefore, they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the Generall.*

This judgement, and as it were assise, was held a land, in one of the Ilands of that port, which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the Iland of *True iustice and iudgement.*

Now after this verdict was thus returned vnto our generall (vnto whom, for his company, her Maiesty, before his departure, had committed her sword, to vse for his safety, with this word: *We doe account that he which striketh at thee,*

Drake, striketh at vs), he called for the guilty party, and caused to be read vnto him the seuerall verdicts which were written and pronounced of him; which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had giuen heauier sentence against him then he had giuen against himselfe), our generall proposed vnto him this choice: *Whether he would take, to be executed in this Iland? or to be sett a land on the maine? or returne into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of her Maiesties Councell?*

He most humbly thanked the Generall for his clemencie, extended towards him in such ample sort: and crauing some respit to consult thereon, and so make his choice aduisedly: the next day he returned this answer, that: *Albeit he had yeelded in his heart to entertaine so great a sinne, whereof now he was iustly condemned: yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, that whatsoeuer did become of his clay body, he might yet remaine assured of an eternall inheritance in a farre better life. This he feared, if he should be set a land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintaine this assurance, feeling, in his owne frailtie, how mighty the contagion is of lewde custome.* And therefore he besought the generall most earnestly, that *he would yet haue a care and regarde of his soule, and neuer jeopard it amongst heathen and sauage Infidells. If he should returne into England, he must first haue a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals; two of which, though they were had, yet for the third, he thought no man would accompanie him, in so bad a message to so vile an issue, from so honorable a seruice. But if that there were which could induce their mindes to returne with him, yet the very shame of the returne would be as death, or grieuouser if it were possible: because he should be so long a dying, and die so often. Therefore he professed, that with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the generals proffer, desiring onely this fauour, that they might receiue the holy communion once*

againe together before his death, and that he might not die other then a gentleman's death.

Though sundry reasons were vsed by many to perswade him to take either of the other wayes, yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted; and the next conuenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The generall himselfe communicated at this Sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent gentleman, who showed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deepely displeased with his owne act then any man else. And after this holy repast they dined, also at the same table together, as cheerefully in sobriety, as euer in their liues they had done aforetime: each cheering vp the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey onely had beene in hand.

After dinner, all things being brought in a readines, by him that supplied the roome of the prouost-Marshall; without any dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth and kneeled downe, preparing at once his necke for the axe, and his spirit for heauen; which hauing done without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to doe his office, not to feare nor spare.

Thus hauing by the worthie manner of his death (being much more honorable by it, then blameable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out whatsoeuer staine his fault might seeme to bring vpon him; he left vnto our fleete a lamentable example of a goodly gentleman, who in seeking aduancement vnfit for him, cast away himselfe; and vnto posteritie a monument of, I know not what, fatall calamitie, as incident to that Port, and such like actions, which might happilie afford a new paire of paralells to be added to Plutarchs: in that the same place, neere about the same time of the yeare, witnessed the execution of 2 gentlemen, suf-

fring both for the like cause, employed both in like seruice, entertained both in great place, endued both with excellent qualities, the one 58 yeare after the other.[1]

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[1] [In this place, our stay being longer than we purposed, which chansed by the accidents before remembred, our diet began to wax short, and small mussells were good meat, yea the sea-weeds were dainty dishes; by reason whereof we were driven to search corners verry narrowly for som refreshing, but the best we could finde was shells instead of meat; we found the nests but the birds were gon, that is, the shells of cockells upon the bankes of the shoare wher the giants had banqueted, but could never chance with the cockells themselves in the sea. The shells was so extraordinary that it will be incredible to the most part, for a paire of shells did weigh four pounds, and what the meat of such two shells might be may easily be conjectured: I make account it weighed one pound at least, so that it was a reasonable bitt for a giant. No other things in this place we found worthy remembrance, save onely that wheras Magilanus performeing the first voyage about the world, falling with this port, as wee did, did first name it Port St. Julian, and makeing som aboad here had a mutiny against him by som of his company, for the which he executed divers of them upon a gibbet, close by the sea upon the maine land, over against the Island, part of which gibbett (being of firrwood) wee found here sound and whole; of which gibbett, being 50 yeares at the least before our tyme of our coming hither, of which wood our cooper made tankards or canns for such of the company as would drink in them, whereof for my owne part I had no great likeing, seeing there was no such necessity. I will end this stoary with answer to that which was then proposed some and often times, which is, what might be the reason that the giants of this place should degenerate so far from all others, whom wee had found so kinde, loveing, and harmeless in other partes of the country, and that the rest shold do us good, and these should deale so bloodily with us. For answere (in my owne opinion), the reason whereof was not difference of nature, nor climate, as som would have it, but an accident chanceing to them more than to others, which, if it had fallen out to the rest as it did to them, it might be as easily to have wrought the same in them as in these. For when Magilanus was here, he injuri-

For, on the maine, our men found a gibbet, fallen downe, made of a spruce mast, with mens bones vnderneath it, which

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ously tooke from this people two of their men, and that with violence, to the shedding of blood and murder of both sydes; which wrought in them such a dislyke, that they purposed and vowed revenge if ever tyme and opertunity served; which being delivered from the father to the children, and from one generation to another, stood for a law to those which should be borne, and nothing was wanting at anny tyme since to put it in execution but strangers; for they could make no difference of nations, being, as it is likely, never acquainted with anny before Magilanus, nor never after till our comeing; and therefore wee being the first, they took opertunity to performe their vow, being determined never to give credit to strangers: out of this then did surely rise (as I thinke) this mischeif against us at this tyme by these giants, when we had so peaceably conversed with all others we mett with in all their land. At our departure we named the Iland the Iland of Blood, in respect of us and Magilanus. Now the tyme of our departure draweing neere, it was desired of my band that wee might have a generall comunion, and some necessary doctrine tending to love and Christian duty, which had been often taught if it had taken effect among ourselves; which as the Lord enabled me I performed with exhortation to repentance, every man as he felt the guilt of his own conscience, least our hope of ioy were assured ourselves *in Mari Australi*, being named Mare Paciferum, should be turned into sorrow, and when we looked for peace wee might find warrs. For even here allso could God meet us jump, as well as in other places to punish our sins, which how it fell out the reader may perceive, if he marke the circumstances of the story when we com to it. This gratious exercise ended, with prayer to God for her most excellent Majesty, her honorable counsell, and the Church and the comon weale of England, with singing of Psalms and giveing of thankes for God's great and singular graces bestowed upon us from tyme to tyme, wee departed the *Bloody* Iland and Port Julian, setting our course for the supposed Streight with three shipps onely, that is, the Pellicane being Admirall, the Elizabeth the Vice-Admirall, and the bark Marigold, wherein Edward Bright, a shipp carpenter, was newly placed captaine. Wee thus arriveing at the northerly cape or headland of the aforesaid streight, wee

they coniectured to be the same gibbet which *Magellane* commanded to be erected, in the yeare 1520, for the execution of *John Carthagene*, the Bishop of Burgos cosen, who by the kings order was ioyned with *Magellane* in commission, and made his vice-admirall.

In the Iland, as we digged to burie this gentleman, we found a great grinding stone, broken in two parts, which wee tooke and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building vp the middle space with other stones and turfes of earth, and engraued in the stones the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memoriall of our generalls name, in Latine, that it might the better be vnderstood, of all that should come after vs.

These things thus ended and set in order, our generall discharged the *Mary*, viz., our Portugall prise, because shee was leake and troublesome, defaced her, and then left her ribs and keele vpon the Iland, where for two moneths together we had pitched our tents. And so hauing wooded, watered, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other businesses, and brought our fleet into the smallest number, euen 3 onely, besides our pinnaces, that we might the easier keepe ourselues together, be the better furnished with necessaries, and be the stronger mand, against whatsoeuer need should be, *August* 17, we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope of a happie issue to our entreprise, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest and prospered, we set our course for the Straights, Southwest.

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struck sale, and made som stay for a tyme till we had performed among ourselves that dewty and service to God, who had safely brought us hither, which we had so long desired, and honor to her highnes, fitting for subjects of so gratious and sevenfold blessed princes, praying for the continuance of her days to be as the dayes of Heaven, as long as the sonn and the moone indureth.]

August 20, we fel with the cape, neere which lies the entrance into the straight, called by the Spaniards *Capo Virgin Maria,* appearing 4 leagues before you come to it, with high and steepe gray cliffes, full of blacke starres, against which the sea beating, sheweth as it were the spoutings of whales, hauing the highest of the cape, like cape Vincent in Portugall. At this cape, our generall caused his fleet, in homage to our soueraigne lady the Queenes maiesty, to strike their top-sailes vpon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad minde, to shewe his dutifull obedience to her highnes, whom he acknowledged to haue full interest and right in that new discouery; and withall, in remembrance of his honorable friend and fauorer, Sir *Christopher Hatton,* he changed the name of the shippe which himselfe went in from the *Pellican* to be called the *golden Hinde.* Which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giuing of thankes for her maiesty and most honorable counsell, with the whole body of the common weale and church of God, we continued our course on into the said frete, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a straite, as carrying with it much winde, often turnings, and many dangers, requireth an expert judgement in him that shall passe the same: it lieth West North West and East South East. But hauing left this straite a sterne, we seemed to be come out of a riuer of two leagues broade, into a large and maine sea; hauing the night following, an Iland in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the Iland *Fogo,* before spoken of) burneth (like it also) alofte in the aire, in a wonderfull sort, without intermission.[1]

[1] [These things thus accomplished, wee joyfully entered the Streight with hope of good success. At our first entrance we conjectured that, from the Cape whence wee departed to the oposite land, on the other side against it, being a great

It hath formerly been receiued as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mouer, from

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Iland and high, and seemeth to make the mouth of a Streight, that it was about ten leagues or there abouts by estimacion, but afterwards we found the passage in som place four, in other places three and two leagues broad, and where it was narrowest it was a large league. In passing alongst wee plainly discovered that the same *terra australis*, left or sett down to bee *terra incognita* before we came there, to bee no Continent (and therefore no Streight), but broken Islands and large passages amongst them... In these Islands we found great reliefe and plenty of good victualls, for infinite were the number of fowle, which the Welsh men named Penguin, and Magilanus tearmed them geese. This fowle cannot flye, haveing but stubb wings, without feathers, covered over with a certaine downe, as it were young goslings of two monthes old, as are allso all their body besides; in their heads, eyes, and feet, they be like a duck, but allmost as a goose. They breed and lodge at land, and in the day tyme goe downe to the sea to feed, being so fatt that they can but goe, and their skins cannot be taken from their bodyes without tearing off the flesh, because of their exceeding fatnes. They digg earth in the ground as the conyes doe, wherein they lay their eggs and lodge themselves and breed their young ones. It is not possible to find a bird of their bignes to have greater strength than they; for our men putting cudgells into their earths to force them out, they would take hold of them with their bills and would not let goe their hold fast, and yet tryeing all their strength, could not in long tyme draw them out of their holds, being large and wide within. Som of them have upon their heads, standing upright, a little tuft of feathers like a peacock, and have redd circles about their eyes, which becom them well. The fatt which came from their bodyes is most piercing, and of the nature and quallity of the oyle of the sea-calves or seales, whereof we have spoken. Wee departeing from these Ilands had somwhat a hard passage, and with difficulty many tymes did proceed in our way, and that for divers causes. First, the mountaines being verry high, and som reaching into the frozen region, did every one send out their several windes; somtymes behind us, to send us on our way; somtymes on the starrboarde side, to drive us to

East to West, haue a continuall current through this straite, but our experience found the contrary; the ebbings and

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the larborde, and so the contrary; somtymes right against us, to drive us farther back in an houre than wee could recover againe in many; but of all others this was the worst, that sometyme two or three of these winds would come together, and meet as it were in one body, whose forces being becom one, did so violently fall into the sea, whirleing, or as the Spanyard saith, with a *tornado*, that they would pierce into the very bowells of the sea, and make it swell upwards on every syde; the hollownes they made in the water, and the winds breaking out againe, did take the swelling banks so raised into the ayer, and being dispersed abroad, it rann downe againe a mighty raine. Besides this, the sea is so deep in all this passage, that upon life and death there is no coming to anker. Neither may I omit the grisly sight of the cold and frozen mountains rearing their heads, yea, the greatest part of their bodies, into the cold and frozen region, where the power of the reflection of the sonn never reacheth to dissolve the ise and snow; so that the ise and snow hang about the spires of the mountains circularwise, as it were regions by degrees, one above another, and one exceeding another in breadth in a wonderfull order. From these hills distilled so sharpe a breath, that it seemed to enter into the bowells of nature, to the great discomfort of the lives of our men. The trees of the Ilands neere adjoyneing to the rootes of these mountains feele the force of the freezing streames which descend from them; for the snow which falleth upon them, and the rain which cometh downe, do both freez as they light upon the trees, and with their continual increase their is such a huge weight, that the maine armes and bowes are crushed downe so close together, that no art or labour of man can make closer and sweeter arbours than they be; under the which, the ground being defended from colde, is ingendered such temperate heat, that the hearbes may seem allwayes to be green and to flourish as it were in our sommer. Amongst other the simples we had in this place (many being to me verry strange and unknowne, because I neither had seen them in other countryes in my travailes, nor found them mentioned in anny aproved herballs) were naturally growing, without industry of man, Time, Marjerom, Alexander's scurvy grass, as seamen call it (scirby grass), and divers others well known

flowings here being as orderly (in which the water rises and falls more than 5 fathomes vpright) as on other coasts.

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to us, all whereof were more excellent in their natures than wee find them in these partes in our gardens. And for other strange plants they were so gummy and full of fattness, that touching them the fatt and the gum would stick to our hands, being so pleasant that it yielded a most comfortable smell to our senses, whereby we received great help, both in our diet and physick, to the great relief of the limbs of our men. The Ilands and plaine grounds further off were very faire, sweet, and fruitful, frequented by a comely and harmless people, but naked, men, women, and children, whom wee could not perceive to have either sett places or dwelling, or anny ordinary means of liveing, as tillage, breeding of cattell, or anny other profession, but wanderers from place to place, and from Iland to Iland, stayeing in a place so long as it would naturally yeeld them provision to live without labour, save onely to kill, gather, and eate, for the which purpose they builded little cottages of poles and bowes, like arbours in our gardens in England, wherein they themselves for the tyme lodg and keep their household stuff. The valew whereof would not pay the chanceler's curt, for proof and Testament of xxv$^{d.}$ in our country, for proof whereof I tooke an inventory of all the perticulers of one as it seemeth the chiefest Lord's house among them as followeth:

1 water pale.
2 drinking cupps.
2 boxes of stuff to paint.
2 wooden spitts, and
1 pare of racks.
2 hatchetts, 1 knife.
1 fare floore of earth for a bedd to lay upon without any cloathes.

These are the substances and riches of this people, all which they leave behind them in the place when they remove till they return againe, at what tyme there is a new increase of creatures for the supply of their nourishment.

Their water pales, drincking cupps, and boxes, are made of the barkes of trees sewed togeather with threads of the guttes of some beastes, like lute strings. Their hatchetts and knives are made of mussel shells, being great and a foot in length, the brickle part whereof being broken off, they grind them by great labour to a fine edge and very sharpe, and as it seemeth, very durable. They sett their hatchetts in helves made of writhen rodds, as smiths do their wedges wherwith they cutt their barrs of iron; with these and their knives

The 24 of *August*, being Bartholomew day, we fell with three Ilands, bearing triangle-wise one from another; one of them was very faire and large and of a fruitfull soile, vpon which, being next vnto vs and the weather very calme, our Generall with his gentlemen and certaine of his mariners, then landed, taking possession thereof in her Maiesties name, and to her vse, and called the same *Elizabeth* Iland.

The other two, though they were not so large nor so faire to the eye, yet were they to vs exceeding vsefull, for in them wee found great store of strange birds, which could not flie at all, nor yet runne so fast as that they could escape vs with their liues; in body they are less than a goose, and bigger than a mallard, short and thicke sett together, hauing no feathers, but insteed thereof a certaine hard and matted downe; their beakes are not much vnlike the bills of crowes, they lodge and breed vpon the land, where making earthes, as the conies doe, in the ground, they lay their egges and bring vp their young; their feeding and prouision to live on is in the sea, where they swimm in such sort, as nature may

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they cutt their poles and bowes whereof they frame their houses, and bark their trees, whereof they make their poles, capps, and boxes and boates, with all other works done with edge tools. Touching their boates, they being made of large barke instead of other timber, they are most artificiall and are of most fine proportion, with a starne and foreship standeing semicircular wise, and well becometh the vessell: with these boates, they travel from place to place among the Ilands, carying every man his family. In all our travells in anny nation, we found not the like boates at anny tyme for forme and fine proportion, in the sight and use whereof princes might seeme to be delighted. The people, men and women, are gentile and familiar to strangers, and paint their bodyes with formes and divers collours; the men makeing redd circles about their eyes and redd strokes upon their forheads for the most part, and the women weare chaines of white shells upon their armes, and som about their necks, whereof they seeme to be verry proud.]

seeme to haue granted them no small prerogatiue in swiftnesse, both to prey vpon others, and themselves to escape from any others that seeke to cease vpon them; and such was the infinite resort of these birds to these Ilands, that in the space of 1 day we killed no lesse than 3000, and if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought that the world hath brought forth a greater blessing, in one kinde of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully seruing the vse of man; they are a very good and wholesome victuall. Our Generall named these Ilands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day, the other Saint *Georges*, in honour of England, according to the ancient custom there obserued.

In the Iland of Saint *George* we found the body of a man, so long dead before that his bones would not hold together, being moued out of the place whereon they lay.

From these Ilands to the entrance into the South-sea, the frete is very crooked, hauing many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we were often troubled with contrary windes, so that some of our ships recouering a cape of land, entring another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course and come to anchor where they might. It is true which *Magellane* reporteth of this passage: namely, that there be many faire harbours and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be fraughted with nothing else besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them to come to anchor, which when any extreame gusts or contrary windes doe come (whereunto the place is altogether subiect), is a great hindrance to the passage, and carrieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very high and mountainous, hauing on the North and West side the continent of America, and on the South and East part nothing but Ilands, among which lye innumerable fretes or passages into the South sea. The mountaines arise with such tops and spires into the

aire, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world; enuironed, as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds and frozen meteors, wherby they are continually fed and increased, both in height and bignes, from time to time, retaining that which they haue once receiued, being little againe diminished by the heate of the sun, as being so farre from reflexion and so nigh the cold and frozen region.

But notwithstanding all this, yet are the lowe and plaine groundes verie fruitful, the grasse greene and naturall; the hearbs, that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees, for the most part of them, alwaies greene; the ayre of the temperature of our countrey; the water most pleasant; and the soile agreeing to any graine which we have growing in our countrie; a place no doubt, that lacketh nothing but a people to vse the same to the Creators glory and the encreasing of the Church. The people inhabiting these parts made fires as we passed by in diuers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the South Sea, wee had such a shutting vp to the Northwards, and such large and open fretes toward the South, that it was doubtfull which way wee should passe, without further discouerie; for which cause, our Generall hauing broughte his fleete to anchor vnder an Iland, himselfe, with certaine of his gentlemen, rowed in a boate to descrie the passage, who, hauing discouered a sufficient way towards the North, in their returne to their ships met a cannowe, vnder the same Iland where wee rode then at anchor, having in her diuers persons.

This cannowe, or boate, was made of the barke of diuers trees, hauing a prowe and a sterne standing vp, and semicirclewise yeelding inward, of one forme and fashion, the body whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely proportion and excellent workmanship, in so much as to our Generall and vs, it seemed neuer to have beene done without the cunning and expert iudgement of art; and that

not for the vse of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea, of some Prince. It had no other closing vp or caulking in the seames, but the stitchin with thongs, made of seale-skins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it receiued very little or no water at all.

The people are of a meane stature, but well set and compact in all their parts and limmes; they haue great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others haue, of whom we have spoken before. Within the said Iland they had a house of meane building, of certaine poles, and couered with skinnes of beasts, hauing therein fire, water, and such meate, as commonly they can come by, as seales, mussels, and such like.

The vessels wherein they keepe their water, and their cups in which they drinke, are made of barkes of trees, as was their canow, and that with no lesse skill (for the bignesse of the thing), being of a very formall shape and good fashion. Their working tooles, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous mussell shels (the like whereof haue not been seen or heard of lightly by any trauellers, the meate thereof beeing very sauourie and good in eating), which, after they haue broken off the thinne and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grinde them vpon stones had for the purpose, till they haue tempered and set such an edge vpon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same; whereof we ourselues had experience. Yea, they cut therewith bones of a maruellous hardnesse, making of them fisgies to kill fish, wherein they haue a most pleasant exercise with great dexteritie.[1]

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[1] [We beeing come of Gods Providence now to the southermost cape of the maine land, the West India, where, as I sayd, we went to sett up a monument for Her Majesty, which in my

The sixth of *September* we had left asterne of vs all these troublesome Ilands, and were entered into the South Sea, or

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opinion had been fitting, being in just proportion of degrees from the Equinoctiall to the Southward as England is to the Northward of the same, that is, 52 degrees, either of them from the Line: the Lord prevented us: for sodainly did arise such a wind that there was no stay to be made at all, by reason wherof wee were enforced to keep our way, and setting our course to steer along the coast towards the Æquinoctiall againe. Wee following the directions of the common mapps of the Spanyards were utterly deceaved, for of malitious purpose they had set forth the mapp false, that they might deceave strangers, if anny gave the attempt to travaile that way, that they might perish by the running off to the sea, rather than touch with anny part of the land of America; for where the land trendeth and lyeth to the North East, or rather to the East ward, they, in their mapps, at the least twelve degrees, have layed it out to the Norwest, by reason wherof wee lost the wind which would have caried us right on our way, and held the right course to the unfortunate Ilands wherewith Magilanus so unhappily fell in the first voyage about the world: which way wee had holden, if the wind had served, but being boath right against us and so violent that it was intollerable, wee were enforced back againe with the lee shoare of the Southerly Ilands from whence wee departed, with a fearefull look for destruction that night before day. The day being come, the light and sight of sonn and land was taken from us, so that here followed as it were a palpable darknes by the space of 56 dayes, without the sight of sonn, moon, or starrs, the moone only excepted, which we see in eclipse the space of a quarter of an houre or there abouts. About which tyme, the storme being so outragious and furious, the bark Marigold, wherein Edward Bright, one of the accusers of Thomas Doubty, was captayne, with 28 soules, were swallowed up with the horrible and unmercifull waves, or rather mountanes of the sea, which chanced in the second watch of the night, wherein myself and John Brewer, our trumpeter, being in watch, did heare their fearefull cryes, when the hand of God came upon them.* We thus deprived of our hand maid, continued with-

* On the side of the MS. the writer has here added these words: "Marked judgement against a false witness."

Mare del zur, at the cape whereof our Generall had determined with his whole company to haue gone ashore, and

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out hope at the pleasure of God in the violent force of the winds, intollerable workeing of the wrathful seas, and the grisely beholding (sometymes) of the cragged rocks and fearfull height and monstrous mountaines, being to us a lee-shoare, where unto we were continually driven by the winds, and carried by the mountaine-like billows of the seas, to looke every moment to have the lyke end as our other shipp had, in which state wee continueing, if at anny tyme wee had a little opertunity to seek som harborow for refuge to com to anker, and rest till God in mercy might give us more safe saleing at the seas. Such was the mallice of the mountains that they seemed to agree togeather in one consent, and joyne their forces together to work our overthrow and to consume us, so that every mountaine sent down upon us their severall intollerable winds, with that horror that they made the bottom of the seas to bee drye land, where wee ankered, sending us headlong upon the topps of the mountains and swelling waves of the seas, over the rocks, the sight whereof at our going in was as fearefull as death itself: at the last, in this miserable state wee were driven as through the eye of a nedell into a great and large bay, by a most narrow passage of rocks, somewhat to the Northward of the Southerly Cape of America, where first we touched at the entring into the South Sea, where comeing to anker within small tyme (being night), we had like entertainment from the hills as wee had before from the mountaines, with greater and more dangerous violence. Our cables brake, our ankers came home, our ships were separated, and our spirits fainted as with the last gasp unto death, and though the Lord sett both our shipps from perishing, and spared our limbs, yet wee in the Admirall were fully perswaded the Vice Admirall was perished; and the Vice Admirall had the same opinion of us (as since it hath been confessed). Neither did wee see one the other againe any more till we mett together in England, for the Vice Admirall was inforced in that most dangerous tyme into the same passage, the imagined streight of Magilanus, which we saled from, the one sea to the other. ....Notwithstanding, when it seemed good to God, after so long tryall of so long a tyme as 56 dayes of so unspeakable setting of the heavens, earth, seas, and wind against us, to

there after a sermon to have left a monument of her Maiestie, ingrauen in mettall, for a perpetuall remembrance, which he

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the enforcing of us to confesse that God had met jumpe with us *in Mari Pacifico* with so mighty a hand, as was told us, I doubt not by the Spirit of God, at Port Julian, as hath beene sayde, it pleased him againe for His Name's sake to heare the prayers of them which unfeignedly called upon His most holly and reverend name, and for their sakes to deliver the rest, in the onely mediation of Christ Jesus, wherefore Hee caused the sunn by day and the moon and stars by night to shine upon us. He changed the sterne lookes of the grisly mountains to yeeld a favorable countenance, the heavens to laugh, the seas to obey, and the winds to cease; yea, every place we looked upon to yeeld us kind entertainment to refresh our weather beaten bodyes and lives, discomforted in so greavous miserye and forlorne state, which thing fell out most happily in His Providence at the uttmost Island of *Terra Incognita*, to the Southward of America, whereat wee ariveing, made both the seas to be one and the self same sea, and that there was no farther land beyond the heights of that Iland, being to the Southward of the Æquinoctiall 55° and certain minutes, to divide them; but that the way lay open for shipping in that height without lett or stay, being the main sea....But before our going to land, wee had a strange and sodaine accident, for John Brewer, our trumpeter, standing upon the poope soundeing his trumpett, being now as great a calme as it had been a storme, without anny wind to moove or shake a silken thredd, most strangely a rope was so tossed and violently hurled against his body that it cast his body over into the sea, with that strength that tenn men with all their powers could not haue don more to a block of his weight, for by estimation his body lighting in the water, was eight times his length distant from the direct point below to the place where hee fell, where labouring mightely for life (the boat being not redy) many ropes were cast round about him and upon him some, but he could not catch hold of anny one at all to help himselfe, till he called one by name to cast one to him, which no sooner was done, but he received it, and was saved at the last pinch, or, as it were, at the end of all hope.*]

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* The writer puts here on the side of his MS., "His judgement worth noteing."

had in a readinesse for that end prepared: but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer vs by any meanes to make a stay.

Onely this by all our men's obseruations was concluded: that the entrance, by which we came into this straite, was in 52 deg., the middest in 53 deg. 15 m., and the going out in 52 deg. 30 m., being 150 leagues in length: at the very entry, supposed also to be about 10 leagues in bredth. After we were entred ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth: farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow, and in the end found to be no straite at all, but all Ilands.

Now when our generall perceiued that the nipping cold, vnder so cruell and frowning a winter, had empaired the health of some of his men, hee meant to haue made the more hast againe toward the line, and not to saile any farther towards the pole Antartick, lest being farther from the Sunne, and neerer the cold, we might happily be ouertaken with some greater danger of sicknesse. But God, giuing men leaue to purpose, reserueth to himselfe the disposition of all things; making their intents of none effect, or changing their meanings ofttimes cleane into the contrary, as may best serue for his owne glory and their profit.

For *September* 7, the second day after our entrance into the South Sea (called by some *Mare pacificum*, but prouing to vs rather to be *Mare furiosum*), God by a contrary wind and intollerable tempest, seemed to set himselfe against vs, forcing vs not onely to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and finall separating of our fleet, to yeeld ourselues vnto his will. Yea, such was the extremitie of the tempest, that it appeared to vs as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his iudgement, till he had buried our bodies, and ships also, in the bottomlesse depth of the raging sea.

In the time of this incredible storme, the 15 of *September*, the moone was ecclipsed in Aries, and darkened about three points, for the space of two glasses; which being ended, might seeme to giue vs some hope of alteration and change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecclipticall conflict could adde nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease vs anything at all, nor take away any part of our troubles from vs: but our ecclipse continued still in its full force, so preuailing against vs, that, for the space of full 52 dayes together, we were darkened more then the moone by 20 parts, or more then we by any meanes could euer haue preserued or recouered light of ourselues againe, if the Sonne of God, which layed this burthen vpon our backs, had not mercifully borne it vp with his owne shoulders, and vpheld vs in it by his owne power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the feeling of great discomforts through the same.

For these violent and extraordinarie flawes (such as seldome haue beene seene) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September* 30, in the night, caused the sorrowfull separation of the *Marigold* from vs; in which was captaine *John Thomas*, with many others of our deare friends, who by no means that we could conceiue could helpe themselues, but by spooming along before the sea. With whom, albeit wee could neuer meet againe, yet (our Generall hauing aforehand giuen order, that if any of our fleet did loose company, the place of resort to meet againe should be in 30 deg. or thereabouts, upon the coast of Peru, toward the Equinoctiall), wee long time hoped (till experience shewed our hope was vaine) that there we should ioyfully meet with them: especially for that they were well prouided of uictuals, and lackt no skilfull and sufficient men (besides their Captaine) to bring forwards the ship to the place appointed.

From the seuenth of *September* (in which the storme began) till the seuenth of *October*, we could not by any

meanes recouer any land (hauing in the meane time beene driuen so farre South as to the 57 deg. and somewhat better) on this day towards night, somewhat to the Northward of that cape of America (whereof mention is made before, in the description of our departure from the straite into this sea), with a sorrie saile wee entred a harbour: where hoping to enioy some freedome and ease till the storme was ended, we receiued within few houres after our comming to anchor so deadly a stroake and hard entertainement, that our Admirall left not onely an anchor behind her, through the violence and furie of the flawe, but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our Vice-admirall, the *Elizabeth*, partly through the negligence of those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home againe; which (as since is knowne) they thenceforward by all meanes assayed and performed. For the very next day, *October* 8, recouering the mouth of the straits againe (which wee were now so neere vnto) they returned backe the same way by which they came forward, and so coasting Brasill, they arrived in England *June* 2 the yeare following.

So that now our Admirall, if she had retained her old name of *Pellican*, which she bare at our departure from our country, she might haue beene now indeed said to be as a pellican alone in the wildernesse. For albeit our Generall sought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not haue any sight or certaine newes of them by any meanes.

From this day of parting of friends, we were forcibly driuen backe againe into 55 deg. towards the pole Antarticke. In which height we ranne in among the Ilands before mentioned, lying to the Southward of America, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath beene declared. Where, comming to anchor, wee found the waters there to haue their indraught and free passage, and that through no small guts or narrow channels, but indeed

through as large frets or straights as it hath at the supposed straights of Magellane, through which we came.

Among these Ilands making our abode with some quietnesse for a very little while (viz. two dayes), and finding diuers good and wholesome herbs, together with fresh water; our men, which before were weake, and much empaired in their health, began to receiue good comfort, especially by the drinking of one herbe (not much vnlike that herbe which wee commonly call Pennyleafe), which purging with great facilitie, affoorded great helpe and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies. But the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner, yea euerything as it were setting itselfe against our peace and desired rest, here was no stay permitted vs, neither any safety to be looked for.

For such was the present danger by forcing and continuall flawes, that we were rather to looke for present death then hope for any deliuery, if God Almightie should not make the way for vs. The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at libertie, or as if all the clouds vnder heauen had beene called together to lay their force vpon that one place. The seas, which by nature and of themselues are heauie, and of a weightie substance, were rowled vp from the depths, euen from the roots of the rockes, as if it had beene a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heate runneth together; and being aloft were carried in most strange manner and abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and loftie mountaines. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gaue ouer their holdfast, and as if it had beene with horror of the thing, did shrinke downe to hide themselues in this miserable storme, committing the distressed ship and helpelesse men to the vncertaine and rowling seas, which tossed them, like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would auaile vs nothing; for

being driuen from our first place of anchoring, so vnmeasurable was the depth, that 500 fathome would fetch no ground. So that the violent storme without intermission; the impossibility to come to anchor; the want of opportunitie to spread any sayle; the most mad seas; the lee shores; the dangerous rocks; the contrary and most intollerable winds; the impossible passage out; the desperate tarrying there; and ineuitable perils on euery side, did lay before vs so small likelihood so escape present destruction, that if the speciall prouidence of God himselfe had not supported vs, we could neuer haue endured that wofull state: as being inuironed with most terrible and most fearefull iudgements round about. For truly, it was more likely that the mountaines should haue beene rent in sunder from the top to the bottome, and cast headlong into the sea, by these vnnaturall winds, then that we, by any helpe or cunning of man, should free the life of any one amongst vs.

Notwithstanding, the same God of mercy which deliuered *Ionas* out of the Whales belly, and heareth all those that call vpon him faithfully in their distresse, looked downe from heauen, beheld our teares, and heard our humble petitions, ioyned with holy vowes. Euen God (whom not the winds and seas alone, but euen the diuels themselues and powers of hell obey) did so wonderfully free vs, and make our way open before vs, as it were by his holy Angels still guiding and conducting vs, that, more then the affright and amaze of this estate, we receiued no part of damage in all the things that belonged vnto vs.

But escaping from these straites and miseries, as it were through the needles ey (that God might haue the greater glory in our deliuery), by the great and effectuall care and trauell of our Generall, the Lord's instrument therein; we could now no longer forbeare, but must needes find some place of refuge, as well to prouide water, wood, and other necessaries, as to comfort our men, thus worne and tired out by so many and so

long intollerable toyles ; the like whereof, its to be supposed, no traueller hath felt, neither hath there euer beene such a tempest (that any records make mention of), so violent and of such continuance since *Noahs* flood ; for, as hath beene sayd, it lasted from *September* 7 to *October* 28th, full 52 dayes.

Not many leagues therefore to the Southwards of our former anchoring, we ranne in againe among these Ilands, where we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace ; and so much the rather, for that wee found the people of the countrie trauelling for their liuing from one Iland to another, in their canowes, both men, women, and young infants wrapt in skins, and hanging at their mothers backs ; with whom we had traffique for such things as they had, as chaines of certaine shells and such other trifles. Here the Lord gaue vs three dayes to breath ourselues and to prouide such things as we wanted, albeit the same was with continuall care and troubles to auoid imminent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering windes did euery houre threaten vnto vs.

But when we seemed to haue stayed there too long, we were more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended but now more violently renewed storme, and driuen thence also with no small danger, leauing behind vs the greater part of our cable with the anchor ; being chased along by the winds and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas, (which our Generall interpreted as though God had sent them of purpose to the end which ensued), till at length wee fell with the vttermost part of land towards the South Pole, and had certainely discouered how farre the same doth reach Southward from the coast of America aforenamed.

The vttermost cape or hedland of all these Ilands, stands neere in 56 deg., without which there is no maine nor Iland to be seene to the Southwards, but that the Atlanticke Ocean and the South Sea, meete in a most large and free scope.[1]

[1] [In this Island were growing wonderfull plenty of the

It hath beene a dreame through many ages, that these Ilands haue beene a maine, and that it hath beene *terra*

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small berry with us named currants, or as the comon sort call them small raisins. Myselfe being landed, did, with my bag, travill to the southermost point of the Iland, to the sea on that syde where I found that Iland to be more Southerly three parts of a degree than anny of the rest of the Ilands. Where, haveing sett up on end a stone of som biggnes, and with such tooles as I hadd of purpose ever about mee when I went on shoare, had engraven Her Majestyes name, her kingdom, the yeare of Christ, and the day of the moneth, I returned againe in som reasonable tyme to our company. Wee departing hence and takeing our farewell from the southernment part of the world knowne, or as wee think to be knowne here, wee altered the name of those Southernly Ilands from *Terra Incognita* (for so it was before our comeing thither, and so should have remained still with our good wills) to *Terra Nunc Bene Cognita*, that is, Broken Ilands; which in coasting it againe on that syde in returneing to the Northward, wee prooved to be true, and were thoroughly confirmed in the same. But before I proceed anny farther in our after travailes, I think it not impertinent heare to insert a few wordes to resolve that great errour, which hath been and is maintained of many touching the Streight of Magilanus—videlicet, that it is a frete or straight indeed, whose reasons being overthrowne, their purpose faileth. The chiefe wherof is that the Southerly land is a continent, but two continents made a streit, therefore it is and must bee a streit. I answere, it was ever uncertaine, from the first discovery of that passage by the Spanyards, and could not be determined by Magilane himselfe, that that land was a continent, but left it under the name of *Terra Incognita;* and what others afore or since have written or said afore of it are but guesses and imaginations, seeing hee himselfe could determine nothing: and that from his tyme there was no other tryall made of it untill now wee have by manifest evidence put it out of doubt to be no continent or maine land, but broken Ilands, dissevered by many passages and compassed about with the sea on every syde, and therfore no streight. Their second reason is as light as this, namely, there runneth such a current betweene the land of America and this *Terra Australis*, (caused, say they) by the continent,

incognita, wherein many strange monsters liued. Indeed, it might truly before this time be called *incognota,* for how-

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that it carieth shipps headlong through to the South Sea, but admitteth no returne back againe; which could not bee, if their was anny other vent or passage for the sea to keepe its naturall course. To this the answer is ready, that it were the strangest thing in the world, that the land reaching to the soutward from the maine of America, but three degrees at the uttmost, should bee a cause of so violent a current to fall into that passage to work such an effect, though the land were a main land and one body reaching so farre, a thing *inauditum;* much less, seeing (as hath been sayd) it is distinated ilands with the sea, between and among them, from one end to the other, from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, containing many as large passages as that wherof they affirme these things. Besides this, if they imagine some fourth and remote cause to be that a current hath or setteth his course this way, and falleing with the maine land ofe America, haveing no other vent, is and must be inforced in this way. That is allso frivolous, seeing both the seas in 55° degrees and under are both one, and therfore this reason is without reason, to prove a streight by that which is not: neither hath anny ground to be likely. To be short, som ground themselves upon the Spanyards report, and credit, that certainly there is a current that way as sends the most swiftly into the South Seas but suffereth no returne. That this is false, is evidently prooved by experience, as well as from Magellan himselfe, as from ourselves; for at what tyme he passed that way, being come into the South Sea, one of his shipps stoale away and returned into their country the same way they came; the like thing chanced to ourselves, for, as you may read before, our Vice Admirall was enforced into the supposed streight againe with the violence of the storme, and so passed the whole way wee had com without any such hinderance, yea, they had more sweet and quiet returne back againe, than wee had a-comeing forward. Add unto these, the accident which fell to us in our saleing towards the South Sea in this passage, that often tymes we were driven back by the winds coming from the mountaines, more in an houre than wee could raise up againe in manye, both which had not chanced if there had been so violent a current as they dreame of; but to make an

soeuer the mappes and generall descriptions of *cosmographers*, either vpon the deceiueable reports of other men, or the deceitfull imaginations of themselues (supposing neuer herein to be corrected), haue set it downe, yet it is true, that before this time, it was neuer discouered or certainely knowne by any traueller that wee haue heard of.

And here, as in a fit place, it shall not be amisse, to remoue that error in opinion which hath beene held by many, of

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end of this matter, the reason why the Spanyards have abused the world with such an untruth and lye is, that thereby they would prevent all other nations to give the attempt to travaile that way, being (as they feigned) so impossible a thing to have anny returne, but must be forced to compass the whole world to their country againe: and thus much for the cleareing of the doubt whether those things hold on and falsely maintained touching this southern most land, and the passage between it and the maine land of America, to make it knowne to the world that there is neither continent, current, nor streight, as idely it hath been surmised and foolishly defended. Toucheing Mr. Candish, a gentileman worthy of immortall fame, for his rare enterprises and travailes, I say littel—only this I observe, that he was able to say no more, either to proove that that *Terra Australis* is a Continent, or that the passag is a streite. Then Magilanus himselfe, as by the line of his course on the mapp may appeare, leadeing mediately from the passage by the South Cape of America towards the Line, without anny touch of anny point further to the sout ward, to make anny proofe or tryall, neither could he make anny mention of anny current. And now to our purpose againe, from which for a reasonable cause I have thus farr degressed. At our departure from this Iland before remembredd, this one thing wee observed: the night was but two houres long, and yet the sonn was not in the tropick by eight degrees, wherof we gatherd that when the sonn should be in the tropick, they should have no night at all, neither would the sonn be out of their sight at anny tyme for certaine dayes, by reason of its Easterly and Westerly course, as it falleth out in Russia, and other the Northerly countryes, when the sonn is in our tropic, as our country men travellers in those parts can witness and myself in my former travels have seen.]

the impossible returne out of *Mar Del Zur* into the West Ocean, by reason of the supposed Easterne current and leuant windes, which (say they) speedily carrie any thither, but suffer no returne. They are herein likewise altogether deceiued; for neither did we meete with any such current, neither had we any such certaine windes with any such speed to carry vs through; but at all times in our passage there, we found more opportunity to returne backe againe into the West Ocean, then to goe forward into *Mar Del Zur*, by meanes either of current or windes to hinder vs, whereof we had experience more then we wished: being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall asterne againe with francke winde (without any impediment of any such surmised current) farther in our afternoone, then we could fetch vp or recouer againe in a whole day, with a reasonable gale. And in that they alleage the narrownes of the frete, and want of sea-roome, to be the cause of this violent current; they are herein no lesse deceiued, then they were in the other without reason: for besides that it cannot be sayd, that there is one onely passage, but rather innumerable, it is most certaine, that a seaboard all these Ilands, there is one large and maine sea, wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor belieue the report of our experience and ey-sight, hee should be aduised to suspend his iudgement, till he haue either tried it himselfe by his owne trauell, or shall vnderstand, by other trauellers, more particulars to confirme his minde herein.

Now as wee were fallen to the vttermost part of these Ilands, *October* 28, our troubles did make an end, the storme ceased, and all our calamities (onely the absence of our friends excepted) were remoued; as if God, all this while, by his secret prouidence, had led vs to make this discouery, which being made, according to his will, he stayed his hand, as pleased his maiestie therein, and refreshed vs as his seruants.

At these Southerly parts we found the night in the latter

end of *October*, to be but 2. houres long: the sunne being yet aboue 7. degrees distant from the Tropick: so that it seemeth, being in the Tropick, to leaue very little, or no night at all in that place.

There be few of all these Ilands but haue some inhabitants, whose manners, apparell, houses, canowes and meanes of liuing, is like vnto those formerly spoken of, a little before our departure out of the *Straight*. To all these Ilands did our generall giue one name, to wit, *Elizabethides*.

After two daies stay, which we made in and about these Ilands, the 30. of *October* we set saile, shaping our course right North-west, to coast alongst the parts of *Peru* (for so the generall mappes set out the land to lie), both for that we might, with conuenient speed, fall with the height of 30 deg., being the place appointed for the rest of our fleete to reassemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost in the meane time to finde them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to vs.

In this course we chanced (the next day) with two Ilands, being, as it were, storehouses of most liberall prouision of victualls for vs, of birds; yeelding not onely sufficient and plentifull store for vs who were present, but enough to haue serued all the rest also which were absent.

Thence (hauing furnished ourselues to our content), we continued our course, *Nouember* 1, still North-west, as wee had formerly done, but in going on we soone espied, that we might easily haue beene deceiued; and therefore casting about and steering vpon another point, wee found, that the generall mappes did erre from the truth in setting downe the coast of *Peru*, for 12. deg. at least to the Northward of the supposed straite; no lesse then is the Northwest point of the compasse different from the Northeast, perceiuing hereby that no man had euer by trauell discouered any part of these 12. deg., and therefore the setters forth of such descriptions are not to be trusted, much less honored, in their false and

fraudulent coniectures which they vse, not in this alone, but in diuers other points of no small importance.

We found this part of *Peru*, all alongst to the height of *Lima*, which is 12. deg. South of the Line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certaine places, inhabited by the Spaniards, and few others, which are very fruitfull and commodious.[1]

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[1] [In our course from Elisabeth Iland wee kept close aboord the shore, as well of the broken land as the maine-land of India, till wee fell in sight of an Island named Mucho; in the meane tyme wee chanced with an Iland as a stragler from the rest of the Southerly broken land, which wee found nothing inferior for birds and eggs (for the bignes to that wee mett with upon the coast of the land of Giants before mencioned, where, haveing well refreshed ourselves, and taken provision with us, wee proceeded in our way, wee haveing the Iland Mocho in sight, thought best to leave the maine land and not to discover ouerselves: but to runne for that Iland, first, in hopes here to haue some helps and diversions? for our purpose at the mane. Wee therefore arriveing at Moucho, the Generall with a chosen company rowed to land with our shipp boate, who, no sooner were come, but the inhabitants repared to them with great shew of frendship, and roundly entered into traphick with our men, and that to oure great good likeing; for their comodityes were such as wee wanted, as fatt muttons, hens, maize, or as comonly its named, Guiney wheat, etc., whereof that night wee had som reasonable tast; and because wee had need of fresh water, signes being made thereof, they gave us assurance by signes against the next morneing, at the riseing of the sonn, wee should have it at pleasure. That night, our mutton and hens was to us so sweet, that wee longed for day that wee might have more such bargains at their hands, yea every man desired to be a South Sea merchant; but the captayne, the tyme being come, made such choice as he thought fitt for the action, who together with joy sett forwards to land, as well apointed allmost, but that they had neither bowe nor other shott, as they were in Port Julian when they mett with the Giants, when they slew two of our men; being therefore well armed with sword and targetts, they feared no perills, nor mayde no doubt but to have as kind entertainment now

After we were once againe thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, til we came to the height of 37 D.,

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as the night before, and that infidells were faithfull as Christians; but they were utterly deceaved, and hadd a redy reward of security and too light credulity; for no sooner were they com to the place, but Barbary's pollicy was presently practised against them, yea in manner and sort as wee found it there: for a narrow creek was apointed for them to bring their boat into, on both sydes whereof did grow aboundance of Indian reeds, high and thick, wherein they had couched a multitude of bloody souldiers on both sydes, not one whereof made anny shew, at their comeing in, but lay close till they hadd their opertunity they looked for. Some were apointed to stand at the landing place to receave our men, and colourably to shew them a place where to goe for water, for which purpose two of our men carying vessels with them went one shoare, one whereof took the boats rope with him to draw the boat nearer to land, which don he left it laying one the ground, which no sooner was out of his hand but an Indian tooke it upp, holdeing the boat fast to the shoare by it, which donn, others layed violent hands upon our men which were landed and caried them away. The souldiers hidden in the reeds, well armed with bowes, arrows, and darts, made of canes, and appoynted to the slaughter, sett uppon every syde against them which were in the boats, who being as naked, not either able to defend themselves or anoy their enemyes, were enforced to be butts to every arrow at the pleasure of the shooter behind and before, and one every syde, being so near that they might place their arrows in anny part of their bodyes as they would; so that though they received now and then an arrow into a targett, yet that did help them but little and was uncertain, because the arrowes came so thick and every way upon them, cribbed up into so narrow a plase as the boat, not one able to stirr by another to help themselves; so that not anny one person escaped without some greavious wound, and most had many, so that their bodyes were loaden with arrowes from 2 to 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, and one had 21, in the severall partes of their bodyes; some in head and face, as the General; some in the throat, breasts, arms, back, belly, and where not: neither had any one of them escaped with life, if one of the simplest of the company had not with his sword

or thereabout; and finding no conuenient place of abode, nor likelihood to heare any newes of our ships, we ranne off

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cutt the boat's rope, and by that meanes sett them at liberty to help themselves by shifting away. At whose departure, arrowes were sent to them so thick as gnats in the sonn, and the sydes of the boat within and without stuck full of them as almost one could stand by another, so that a man might by sight of the boat a farr off judge what was the state of their bodyes which were in it; who comeing one shipp board, the horror of their bloody state wounded the harts of all men to behold them. Notwithstanding, prayers being made for their comfort, it was endeavoured to ease their extremity, to save them whom the Lord had apointed to live: so that it pleased God not anny but one dyed of that accident. Now in the meane tyme, with what expedition we could, the boate was manned againe, and sent to see if happily anny helpe might be hadd for our men whom the enemy had taken, but all in vain and impossible; for when our men came in view of them, the multitude was great, by estimation 2000 persons, well appointed, with bowes, darts, speares, shields, pikes, and other weapons, most of them headed with pure silver, which in the light of the sonn made a wonderfull show and glittering. Among these and many others of the comon people, were our two men in their execution and torments, the manner whereof, as they perceived or conceived at the least, was in this sort: the men being fast bound, were layed upon the ground among them, and the people cast themselves into a ring round about them, hand in hand with a dance, still turneing or going about with a song; in the meantyme tormentors, workeing with knives upon their bodyes, cutt the flesh away by gubbets, and cast it up into the ayer, the which falleing downe, the people catched in their danceing, and like doggs devoured it in most monstrous and unatural manner, even most horrible to nature, and thus continued till they had picked their bones, life yet remaining in them. Our men seeing no good to be donn, after a volly or two of shott bestowed upon them, but could do them no harme because at every offer of a shott they would all fall flat to the ground, they returned againe as men all-amort with so horrible a spectacle of our naturall people. Wee might have taken a revenge upon them at pleasure with great shott out of our shipp, but the Generall would

againe with an Iland, which lay in sight, named of the Spaniards *Mucho,* by reason of the greatnesse and large circuit thereof.

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not for speciall causes consent to it. Wee understood that this people were naturall Indians, and did inhabit at mainland; but by the bloody cruelty of the Spanyards (as were the Brasilians by the Portugalls, as in the story of Brasilia you may reade) were driven to flye from their naturall country to this Iland to purchase to themselves peace and safetey, where, haveing established themselves a kingdom, which they maintaine with continuall shedding of the blood and eateing of the flesh of the Spanyards, when or howsoever they can come by them, as the people of Brasilia deale with the Portugalls when they overcom them; and because they were never acquainted with anny other nation but the Spanyards in those partes of the world, they perswadeing themselves that wee were the same, and the rather because one of our men rashly spake in the Spanish tongue, they determined to bestow upon us a Spanyard's reward, which they effected indeed to our great griefe and hazardeing of our state; wherein whether God mett us *jumpe* in the South Sea or noe wee ourselves might easily judg. This Iland is most rich in gold and silver, and it aboundeth in many good things necessary for the maintainance of Gods good people, flourishing with trees and fruit continually, wanting nothing but a people feareing God to injoye it, to glorify his name for such excellent blessings bestowed upon it. I may compare it fitly to Her Majesty's Iland named Weight, upon the coast of England, which in respect of its situation is called Vectis, a doore-barr to the land on that syde of our country, so this Iland layeth in like sort right against a most golden province of the world named Valdinia, which both being possessed by one Prince would make the one and the other invincible; but of this Valdinia you shall hear more in the second part of this navigation about the world, which I will attempt to finish with all convenient speed I may.]*

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* Here ends the transcript of Mr. Fletcher's narrative as preserved in the Sloane MSS. The second part promised does not exist in that collection, nor are we aware that it has been met with anywhere else. The writer of the transcript ends with these words :—"Now as the transcriber may here make enquiry why som (in these days, viz., 1677) may accompt

At this Iland comming to anchor *November* 25, we found it to be a fruitfull place, and well stored with sundrie sorts of good things: as sheepe and other cattell, maize (which is a kinde of graine whereof they make bread), potatoes, with such other rootes; besides that, it is thought to be wonderfull rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the vse of mans life. The inhabitants are such Indians, as by the cruell and most extreame dealing of the Spaniards haue beene driuen to flie from the maine here, to releeue and fortifie themselues. With this people, our Generall thought it meet to haue traffique for fresh victuals and water; and for that cause, the very same night of our arriuall there, himselfe with diuers of his company went ashoare, to whom the people with great courtesie came downe, bringing with them such fruites and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheepe, which they gaue our Generall for a present. In recompence whereof, hee bestowed vpon them againe many good and necessarie things; signifying vnto them, that the end of his comming was for no other cause but by way of exchange, to traffique with them for such things as wee needed and they could spare: and in particular, for such as

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the stoarye of these Giants fabulous, so it may be answered that som may pretend only to have ben so farr as these parts and have not, and these haveing asserted the contrary in globes and mapps, therefore are loath to have it contradicted. Now it may be considered these Giants are here said to feed upon a gigantick fowle, viz., Ostridges, and it seemes they have large coccles and mussells, and larger than ordinary hearbes at the same time with us, such as marjerom, thyme, scurbye grass, etc., and why not large grown men and women? That these Giants have bowes and arrows to kill Ostridges its likely, and for defence of themselves from the rest of the Indians; and that so long as they remained in that country undisturbed, their bodyes becam gigantick from the nature of the place and from the virtue communicated by the use of the oyle of Ostridges upon their children, as aforesaid; and now, upon the Spanyards driving the Indians upp into those undisturbed partes, may have ben a meanes to extirpat this gigantick generacon. Possibly their Ostridges diet may ever since by degrees have ceased, and by more disturbed unquiet pastures in those countryes, may have occasioned the dwarfeing of that gigantick race; so that upon the whole it may well follow that there may truely have been Giants in those partes formerly, though non are now here to be found.

they had alreadie brought downe vnto vs, besides fresh water, which wee desired of them. Herein they held themselues well contented, and seemed to be not a little ioyful of our comming, appointing where we should the next morning haue fresh water at pleasure, and withall signifying that then also they would bring us downe such other things as we desired to serue our turnes.

The next day [*Nov.* 26] therefore, very early in the morning (all things being made readie for traffique, as also vessels prepared to bring the water), our Generall taking great care for so necessarie prouision, repaired to the shoare againe; and setting aland two of his men, sent them with their *Barricoes* to the watering place, assigned the night before. Who hauing peaceably past on one halfe of the way, were then with no small violence set vpon by those traiterous people, and suddenly slaine: and to the end that our Generall with the rest of his company should not onely be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had layed closely behind the rockes an ambushment of (as we guessed) about 500. men, armed and well appointed for such a mischiefe. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boate, and the sea-gate exceeding great) by shooting their arrowes hurt and wounded euery one of our men, before they could free themselues, or come to the vse of their weapons to do any good. The General himself was shot in the face, vnder his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marueilous way in vnder *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life; besides that, he was grieuously wounded in the head. The rest, being nine persons in the boate, were deadly wounded in diuers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not giuen cure to the same. For our chiefe surgeon being dead, and the other absent by the losse of our Vice-Admirall, and hauing none left vs but a boy, whose good will was more

then any skill hee had, we were little better then altogether destitute of such cunning and helpes, as so grieuous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding God, by the good aduice of our Generall, and the diligent putting too of euery mans helpe, did giue such speedy and wonderfull cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yeelded God the glory thereof.

The cause of this force and iniurie by these Ilanders, was no other but the deadly hatred which they beare against their cruell enemies the Spaniards, for the bloudy and most tirannous oppression which they had vsed towards them. And therefore with purpose against them (suspecting vs to bee Spaniards indeed, and that the rather by occasion that though command was giuen to the contrary, some of our men in demanding water, vsed the Spanish word *Aqua*) sought some part of reuenge against vs.

Our Generall, notwithstanding he might haue reuenged this wrong, with little hazard or danger, yet being more desirous to preserue one of his owne men aliue, then to destroy 100 of his enemies, committed the same to God; wishing this onely punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had wronged; and that they had done this iniurie, not to an enemie, but to a friend; not to a Spaniard, but to an Englishman; who would rather haue beene a patron to defend them, then any way an instrument of the least wrong that should haue beene done vnto them. The weapons which this people vse in their warres, are arrowes of reeds, with heads of stone very brittle and indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

The same day that we receiued this dangerous affront, in the afternoone, we set sayle from thence; and because we were now nigh the appointed height, wherein our ships were to be looked for, as also the extremity and crasie state of our hurt men aduising vs to vse expedition to find some conuenient place of repose, which might afford them some rest,

and yeeld vs necessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet; we bent our course, as the wind would suffer vs, directly to run in with the maine. Where falling with a bay called *Philips Bay*, in 32 deg. or thereabout, *November* 30, we came to anchor, and foorthwith manned and sent our boate to discouer what likelihood the place would offer to affoord vs such things as we stood in need of. Our boate doing her vttermost endeuour in a diligent search, yet after long trauell could find no appearance of hope for reliefe, either of fresh uictuals or of fresh water: huge heards of wild buffes they might discerne, but not so much as any signe of any inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their returne to vs, they descried within the bay an Indian with his canow, as he was a fishing: him they brought aboard our generall, canow and all, as he was in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature; his apparell was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees; his armes and legges were naked; his haire vpon his head verie long; without a beard, as all the Indians for the most part are. He seemed verie gentle, of mild and humble nature, being verie tractable to learne the vse of euery thing, and most gratefull for such things as our generall bestowed vpon him. In him we might see a most liuely patterne of the harmelesse disposition of that people, and how grieuous a thing it is that they should by any meanes be so abused as all those are, whom the Spaniards haue any command or power ouer.

This man being courteously entertained, and his paines of comming double requited, after we had shewed him, partly by signes, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receiue by his meanes, vpon exchange of such things as he would desire, wee sent him away with our boate and his own canow (which was made of reed straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his returne, was immediatly met with by two or three of his friends; to whom imparting his

newes, and shewing what gifts he had receiued, he gaue so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose; so that, after certaine houres of our men's abode there, hee with diuers others (among whom was their head or captaine) made their returne, bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would do vs good: as some hennes, egges, a fat hogge, and such like. All which (that our men might be without all suspition of all euill to be meant or intended by them) they sent in one of their canowes, a reasonable distance from off the shoare, to our boate, the seagate being at that present very great; and their captaine, having sent backe his horse, would needs commit himselfe to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to our Generall, without any of his owne acquaintance or countriemen with him.

By his comming, as we vnderstood that there was no meane or way to haue our necessities relieued in this place; so he offered himselfe to be our pilote to a place, and that a good harborough, not farre backe to the Southward againe, where, by way of traffique, we might haue at pleasure both water and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our Generall uery gladly receiued, and so much the rather, for that the place intended was neere about the place appointed for the randeuoues of our fleete. Omitting therefore our purpose of pursuing the buffes formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible, to haue killed some: this good newes of better prouision, and more easie to come by, drew vs away: and so the 5 day after our arriuall, viz., *December* 4, we departed hence, and the next day, *December* 5, by the willing conduct of our new Indian Pilote, we came to anchor in the desired harbor.

This harbor the Spaniards call *Valperizo,* and the towne adioyning *Saint Iames* of *Chili:* it stands in 35 deg. 40 min., where, albeit, we neither met with our ships nor heard of them; yet there was no good thing which the place

afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance: amongst other things, we found in the towne diuerse storehouses of the wines of *Chilie;* and in the harbour, a ship called the *Captaine of Moriall, or the Grand Captaine of the South, Admirall to the Ilands of Salomon,* loaden for the most part with the same kinde of liquors; onely there was besides a certaine quantity of fine gold of Baldinia and a great crosse of gold beset with emeraulds, on which was nailed a god of the same mettall. Wee spent some time in refreshing our selues, and easing this ship of so heauy a burthen, and on the 8 day of the same moneth (hauing in the meane time sufficiently stored ourselues with necessaries, as wine, bread, bacon, etc., for a long season), we set saile, returning backe towards the line, carrying againe our Indian pilote with vs, whom our Generall bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him by the way to be landed in the place where he desired.

Our necessities being thus to our content releeued, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long seuered from vs: neither would anything haue satisfied our Generall or vs so well, as the happy meeting, or good newes of them: this way therefore (all other thoughts for the present set apart) were all our studies and endeauours bent, how to fit it so as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed ouer.

To this end, considering that we could not conueniently runne in with our ship (in search of them) to euery place where was likelihood of being a harbour, and that our boate was too little, and vnable to carry men enough to encounter the malice or treachery of the Spaniards (if we should by any chance meete with any of them) who are vsed to show no mercy where they may ouermaster; and therefore, meaning not to hazard our selues to their cruell courtesie, we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search

diligently for some conuenient place where we might, in peace and safety, stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which wee might with better security then in our boate, and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creeke, leaue no place vntried, if happily we might so finde againe our friends and countrimen.

For this cause, *December* 19, we entred a bay, not farre to the Southward of the towne of *Cyppo*, now inhabited by the Spaniards, in 29 deg. 30 min., where, hauing landed certaine of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conueniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there; we were immediatly descried by the Spaniards of the towne of *Cyppo* aforesayd, who speedily made out 300 men at least, wherof 100 were Spaniards, euery one well mounted vpon his horse: the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heeles, all naked, and in most miserable bondage.

They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before their was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselues as they could: first from the maine to a rocke within the sea, and from thence into their boate, which being ready to receiue them, conueyed them with expedition out of the reach of the Spaniards fury without the hurt of any man.

Onely one *Richard Miniuy*, being ouer bold and carelesse of his owne safety, would not be intreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his owne deliuery; but chose either to make 300 men, by outbrauing of them, to become afraide, or else himselfe to die in the place; the latter of which he did, whose dead body being drawne by the Indians from the rocke to the shoare, was there manfully by the Spaniards beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluckt out; all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcase they

caused the Indians to shoote it full of arrowes, made but the same day, of greene wood, and so left it to be deuoured of the beastes and foules, but that we went ashoare againe and buried it; wherein as there appeareth a most extreame and barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world in what miserable feare the Spaniards holdeth the gouernment of those parts; liuing in continuall dread of forreigne inuasion by strangers, or secret cutting of their throats by those whom they kept vnder them in so shamefull slauery, I meane the innocent and harmlesse Indians. And therefore they make sure to murther what strangers soeuer they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no meanes to haue any weapon longer then they be in present seruice: as appeared by their arrowes cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea they suppose they shew the wretches great fauour, when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon, which is one of the least cruelties amongst many which they vniuersally vse against that nation and people.

This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainement such as we desired, we speedily got hence againe, and, *December* 20, the next day, fell with a more conuenient harbour, in a bay somewhat to the Northward of the forenamed *Cyppo*, lying in 27 deg. 55 min. South the Line.

In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ship, and building of our pinnace, as we desired; but still the griefe for the absence of our friends remained with vs, for the finding of whom our Generall, hauing now fitted all things to his minde, intended (leauing his ship the meane while at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace and some chosen men, himselfe to returne backe to the Southwards againe, to see if happily he might either himselfe meete with them, or find them in some harbour or creeke, or heare of them by any others whom he might meete with. With this resolu-

tion he set on, but after one daies sayling, the winde being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to returne againe.

Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much vnlike our gurnard in England, as no place had euer afforded vs the like (Cape *Blanck* onely vpon the coast of Barbary excepted) since our first setting forth of *Plymmouth*, untill this time, the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselues day by day with 4 or 5 hookes or lines, in 2 or 3 houres, would take sometimes 400, sometimes more at one time.

All our businesses being thus dispatched, *January* 19, we set sayle from hence ; and the next place that we fell withall, *January* 22, was an Iland standing in the same height, with the North cape of the prouince of Mormorena. At this Iland we found 4 Indians with their canowes, which tooke vpon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the foresayd cape ; in hope whereof, our General made them great cheere (as his manner was towards all strangers), and set his course by their direction, but when we came vnto the place, and had trauelled vp a long way into the land, wee found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunke wine in their passage thither.

As we sayled along, continually searching for fresh water, we came to a place called *Tarapaca*, and landing there we lighted on a Spaniard who lay asleepe, and had lying by him 13 barres of siluer, waighing in all about 4000 Spanish duccatts: we would not (could wee haue chosen) haue awaked him of his nappe : but seeing we, against our wills, did him that iniury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would haue kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleepe in more security.

Our search for water still continuing, as we landed againe not farre from thence, we met a Spaniard with an Indian

boy, driuing 8 lambes or Peruvian sheepe: each sheepe bare two leathren bagges, and in each bagge was 50 pound waight of refined siluer, in the whole 800 waight: we could not indure to see a gentleman Spaniard turnd carrier so, and therefore without intreaty we offered our seruice and became drouers, onely his directions were not so perfect that we could keepe the way which hee intended; for almost as soone as hee was parted from us, we with our new kinde of carriges, were come vnto our boates.

Farther beyond this cape fore-mentioned lie certaine Indian towns, frō whence, as we passed by, came many of the people in certaine bawses made of seales skins; of which two being ioyned together of a iust length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or forme a boate: they haue in either of them a small gutt, or some such thing blowne full of winde, by reason whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen. In these, vpon sight of our ship, they brought store of fish of diuerse sortes, to traffique with vs for any trifles wee would giue them, as kniues, margarites, glasses, and such like, whereof men of 60 and 70 yeares old were as glad as if they had receiued some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plaine dealing people. Their resort vnto vs was such as, considering the shortnesse of the time, was wonderfull to us to behold.

Not farre from this, viz., in 22 deg. 30 min., lay *Mormorena*, another great towne of the same people, ouer whom 2 Spaniards held the gouernment; with these our Generall thought meet to deale, or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffique, giue vs such things as we needed or no, and therefore, *Ian.* the 26, we cast anchor here. We found them (more for feare than for loue) somewhat tractable, and receiued from them by exchange many good things, very necessarie for our vses.

Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheepe of the countrey (viz., such as we mentioned before, bearing

the leatherne bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equall to a pretty cow, and their strength fully answerable, if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Vpon one of their backes did sit at one time three well growne and tall men, and one boy, no mans foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burthen in the meane time. These sheepe haue neckes like camels, their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheepe. The Spaniards vse them to great profit. Their wooll is exceeding fine, their flesh good meate, their increase ordinarie, and besides they supply the roome of horses for burthen or trauell: yea they serue to carry ouer the mountaines maruellous loades, for 300 leagues together, where no other carriage can be made but by them onely. Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the countrey throughout the Prouince of *Cusko*, the common ground, wheresoeuer it bee taken vp, in euery hundred pound weight of earth, yeeldeth 25 s. of pure siluer, after the rate of a crowne an ounce.

The next place likely to affoord vs any newes of our ships (for in all this way from the height where wee builded our pinnace, there was no bay or harbour at all for shipping), was the port of the towne of *Arica*, standing in 20 deg., whither we arriued the 7 of *February*. This towne seemed to vs to stand in the most fruitfull soile that we saw all alongst these coasts, both for that it is situate in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile vally, abounding with all good things, as also in that it hath continuall trade of shipping, as well from Lyma as from all other parts of Peru. It is inhabited by the Spaniards. In two barks here we found some forty and odde barres of siluer (of the bignesse and fashion of a brickbatte, and in waight each of them about 20 pounds), of which we tooke the burthen on ourselues to ease them, and so departed towards Chowley, with which wee fell the second day following, viz., *Feb.* 9; and in our way to *Lima*, we met with another barke at *Ariquipa*, which had

begun to loade some siluer and gold, but hauing had (as it seemed, from Arica by land) some notice of our comming, had vnloaden the same againe before our arriuall. Yet in this passage we met another barke loaden with linnen, some of which we thought might stand vs in some stead, and therefore tooke it with vs.

At Lima we arriued *Febr.* 15, and notwithstanding the Spaniards forces, though they had thirtie ships at that present in harbour there, whereof 17 (most of them the especiall ships in all the South Sea) were fully ready, we entred and anchored all night in the middest of them, in the *Calao*, and might haue made more spoile amongst them in few houres, if we had beene affected to reuenge, then the Spaniard could haue recouered againe in many yeares. But wee had more care to get vp that company which we had so long mist, then to recompence their cruell and hard dealing by an euen requitall, which now we might haue tooke. This Lima stands in 12 deg. 30 min. South latitude.

Here, albeit no good newes of our ships could bee had, yet got we the newes of some things that seemed to comfort, if not to counteruaile our trauells thither, as, namely, that in the ship of one *Mighell Angell* there, there were 1500 barres of plate, besides some other things (as silkes, linnen, and in one a chest full of royals of plate), which might stand us in some stead in the other ships, aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid our selues welcome. Here also we heard the report of some things that had befallen in and neere Europe since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages, as the king of Portugall, and both the kings of Morocco and Fesse, dead all three in one day at one battell; the death of the king of France and the Pope of Rome, whose abhominations, as they are in part cut off from some Christian kingdomes, where his shame is manifest, so do his vassals and accursed instruments labour by all meanes possible to repaire that losse, by spreading the

same the further in these parts, where his diuellish illusions and damnable deceiuings are not knowne. And as his doctrine takes place any where, so do the manners that necessarily accompanie the same insinuate themselues together with the doctrine. For as its true that in all the parts of America, where the Spaniards haue any gouernment, the poisonous infection of Popery hath spread it selfe; so, on the other side it is as true, that there is no Citie, as Lima, Panama, Mexico, etc., no towne or village, yea no house almost in all these Prouinces, wherein (amongst the other like Spanish vertues) not onely whoredome, but the filthinesse of Sodome, not to bee named among Christians, is not common without reproofe: the Popes pardons being more rife in these parts then they be in any part of Europe for these filthinesses, whereout he sucketh no small aduantage. Notwithstanding the Indians, who are nothing neerer the true knowledge of God then they were afore, abhorre this most filthie and loathsome manner of liuing; shewing themselues in respect of the Spaniards, as the Scythians did in respect of the Grecians; who in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behauiour did so farre excell the wise and learned Greekes, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge.

But as the Pope and antichristian bishops labour by their wicked factors with tooth and naile to deface the glory of God, and to shut vp in darknesse the light of the Gospell; so God doth not suffer his name and religion to be altogether without witnesse, to the reprouing both of his false and damnable doctrine, as also crying out against his vnmeasurable and abominable licentiousnesse of the flesh, euen in these parts. For in this city of Lima, not two monethes before our comming thither, there were certaine persons, to the number of twelue, apprehended, examined, and condemned for the profession of the Gospell, and reprooving the doctrines of men, with the filthie manners vsed in that

city: of which twelue, sixe were bound to one stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison, to drinke of the same cup within few dayes. Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certaine rich ship, which was loaden with gold and siluer for Panama, that had set forth of this hauen the second of *February*.

The very next day therefore in the morning (viz., the 16 of the said moneth) wee set sayle, as long as the wind would serue our turne, and towed our ship as soone as the wind failed; continuing our course toward Panama, making stay no where, but hastening all wee might, to get sight if it were possible of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*, the great glory of the South Sea, which was gone from Lima 14 dayes before vs.

We fell with the port of *Paita* in 4 deg. 40 min., *Feb.* 20, with the port Saint *Hellen* and the riuer and port of *Guiaquill*, *Feb.* 24. We past the line the 28, and the first of *March* wee fell with the cape *Francisco*, where, about midday, we descried a sayle a head of vs, with whom, after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about sixe dayes to recouer our breath againe, which we had almost spent with hasty following, and to recall to mind what aduentures had passed vs since our late comming from Lima; but especially to do *Iohn de Anton* a kindnesse, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was loaden.

This ship we found to bee the same of which we had heard, not onely in the Calao of Lima, but also by diuers occasions afterward, which now we are at leasure to relate, viz., by a ship which we tooke betweene Lima and Paita: by another, which we took loaden with wine in the port of Paita: by a third, loaden with tackling and implements for ships (besides eightie pound waight in gold) from Guiaquill. And lastly, by *Gabriel Aluarez*, with whom we talked somewhat neerer the line). We found her to be indeed the

Cacafuego, though before we left her, she were new named by a boy of her owne the *Cacaplata*. We found in her some fruite, conserues, sugars, meale, and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heauy and slow sayling) a certaine quantitie of iewels and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate, 80 pound waight in gold, 26 tunne of vncoyned siluer, two very faire gilt siluer drinking boules, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360,000 pezoes. We gaue the master a little linnen and the like for these commodities, and at the end of sixe dayes we bad farewell and parted. Hee hastening somewhat lighter then before to Panama, we plying off to sea, that we might with more leasure consider what course henceforward were fittest to be taken.

"And considering that now we were come to the Northward of the line (cape *Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay of Panama, in 1 deg. of North latitude), and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before vs that way by any meanes: seeing that in running so many degrees from the Southernmost Ilāds hitherto, we could not haue any signe or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search and carefull enquirie after them, in euery harbour or creeke almost as we had done; and considering also that the time of the yeare now drew on wherein we must attempt, or of necessitie wholly giue ouer that action, which chiefly our Generall had determined, namely, the discouery of what passage there was to be found about the Northerne parts of America, from the South Sea, into our owne Ocean (which being once discouered and made knowne to be nauigable, we should not onely do our countrie a good and notable seruice, but we also ourselues should haue a nearer cut and passage home; where otherwise, we were to make a very long and tedious uoyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we hauing been so long from home

already, and so much of our strength seperated from vs), which could not at all be done if the opportunity of time were now neglected: we therefore all of vs willingly harkened and consented to our Generalls aduice, which was, first to seeke out some conuenient place wherein to trimme our ship, and store our selues with wood and water and other prouisions as we could get, and thenceforward to hasten on our intended iourney for the discouery of the said passage, through which we might with joy returne to our longed homes.

From this cape, before we set onward, *March* the 7, shaping our course towards the Iland of *Caines*, with which we fell *March* 16, setting our selues for certaine dayes in a fresh riuer, betweene the maine and it, for the finishing of our needfull businesses, as it is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such that our ship and pinnace, riding very neere an English mile from the shoare, were shaken and did quiuer as if it had beene layd on drie land: we found here many good commodities which we wanted, as fish, fresh water, wood, etc., besides alargartoes, munckeyes, and the like; and in our iourny hither we met with one ship more (the last wee met with in all those coastes), loaden with linnen, China silke and China-dishes, amongst which we found also a faulcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the brest of it.

From hence we parted the 24 day of the moneth forenamed, with full purpose to runne the neerest course, as the winde would suffer vs, without touch of land a long time; and therefore passed by port Papagaia; the port of the Vale, of the most riche and excellent balmes of Iericho; Quantapico, and diuerse others; as also certaine gulphes hereabouts, which without intermission send forth such continuall and violent windes, that the Spaniards, though their ships be good, dare not venture themselues too neere the danger of them.

Notwithstanding hauing notice that we should be troubled with often calmes and contrary windes, if we continued neere the coast, and did not runne of to sea to fetch the winde, and that if we did so we could not then fall with land againe when we would; our Generall thought it needfull that we should runne in with some place or other before our departure from the coast, to see if happily wee could, by traffique, augment our prouision of victuals and other necessaries; that being at sea we might not be driuen to any great want or necessitie, albeit wee had reasonable store of good things aboard vs already.

The next harbor therefore which we chanced with on *April* 15, in 15 deg., 40 min., was *Guatulco*, so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some entercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefely bread, etc. And now hauing reasonably, as wee thought, prouided ourselues, we departed from the coast of America for the present; but not forgetting, before we gate a-shipboard, to take with vs also a certaine pot (of about a bushell in bignesse) full of ryalls of plate, which we found in the towne, together with a chaine of gold, and some other iewells, which we intreated a gentleman Spaniard to leaue behinde him, as he was flying out of towne.

From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz., *Aprill* 16, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sayled 500 leagues in longitude, to get a winde: and betweene that and *June* 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grieuously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not onely the markes, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of vs all; for besides that the pinching and

biting aire was nothing altered, the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen Zone then any way so neere vnto the sun, or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time onely, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemes indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heate of the sun preuailes not; for it came to that extremity in sayling but 2 deg. farther to the Northward in our course, that though sea-men lack not good stomaches, yet it seemed a question to many amongst vs, whether their hands should feed their mouthes, or rather keepe themselues within their couerts from the pinching cold that did benumme them. Neither could we impute it to the tendernesse of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremitie of heate, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold: insomuch as the dead and sencelesse creatures were as well affected with it as ourselues: our meate, as soone as it was remooued from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen vp, and our ropes and tackling in few dayes were growne to that stiffnesse, that what 3 men afore were able with them to performe, now 6 men, with their best strength and vttermost endeauour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seased vpon the mindes of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our General be discouraged, but as wel by comfortable speeches, of the diuine prouidence, and of God's louing care ouer his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable perswasions, adding thereto his own cheerfull example, he so stirred them vp to put on a good courage, and to quite themselues like men, to indure some short extremity to haue the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtaine the greater glory, that euery man was throughly

armed with willingnesse and resolued to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it then wee were aware; and yet the neerer still wee came vnto it, the more extremitie of cold did sease vpon vs. The 5 day of *Iune*, wee were forced by contrary windes to runne in with the shoare, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best roade we could for the present meete with, where wee were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flawes that beate vpon vs, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thicke, and stinking fogges, against which the sea preuailed nothing, till the gusts of wind againe remoued them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for vs; and to go further North, the extremity of the cold (which had now vtterly discouraged our men) would not permit vs; and the winds directly bent against vs, hauing once gotten vs vnder sayle againe, commanded vs to the Southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 deg., in which now we were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in *June*, and the sunne in his neerest approch vnto them, being couered with snow.

In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busie employment

about our necessarie labours, had not sometimes compeld us to the contrary, we could very well haue been contented to haue kept about us still our winter clothes; yea (had our necessities suffered vs) to haue kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteene dayes together, find the aire so cleare as to be able to take the height of sunne or starre.

And here hauing so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seeme to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreame cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or vnlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly beene touched) the tendernesse of our bodies, comming so lately out of the heate, whereby the poores were opened, that made vs so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a prouident Father and carefull Physitian for vs. We lacked no outward helpes nor inward comforts to restore and fortifie nature, had it beene decayed or weakened in vs; neither was there wanting to vs the great experience of our Generall, who had often himselfe proued the force of the burning Zone, whose aduice alwayes preuailed much to the preseruing of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that euen after our departure from the heate wee alwayes found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardned, more able to beare out cold, though we came out of excesse of heate, then a number of chamber champions could haue beene, who lye on their feather beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate aire do beate in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tendernes, but the very extremitie of the cold itselfe, that caused this sensiblenes in vs, may the rather appeare, in that the naturall inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had neuer beene acquainted with such heate, to whom the countrey, ayre, and climate was proper,

and in whom custome of cold was as it were a second nature; yet vsed to come shiuering to vs in their warme furres, crowding close together, body to body, to receiue heate one of another, and sheltring themselues vnder a lee bancke, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroude themselues vnder our garments also to keepe them warme. Besides, how vnhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaues, and the ground without greennes in those moneths of *June* and *July*. The poore birds and foules not daring (as we had great experience to obserue it), not daring so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egge layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to helpe itselfe. Onely this recompence hath nature affoorded them, that the heate of their owne bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time then is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seeme not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chiefest of which we conceiue to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully ioyned, yet seeme they to come very neere one to the other. From whose high and snow-couered mountaines, the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nimphes, to the infecting the whole aire with this insufferable sharpnesse: not permitting the Sunne, no, not in the pride of his heate, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they haue breathed out so nigh the Sunne, and so many degrees distant from themselues. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the North wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof,

by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the generall squalidnesse and barrennesse of the countrie; hence comes it, that in the middest of their summer, the snow hardly departeth euen from their very doores, but is neuer taken away from their hils at all; hence come those thicke mists and most stinking fogges, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised: wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sunne striuing to performe his naturall office, in eleuating the vapors out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sunnes indeuour, forces him to giue ouer his worke imperfect; and instead of higher eleuation, to leaue in the lowest region, wandring vpon the face of the earth and waters as it were a second sea, through which its owne beames cannot possibly pierce, vnlesse sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth helpe to scatter and breake through it; which thing happeneth very seldome, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerely beene at Wardhouse, in 72 deg. of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest moneths of *June* and *July*.

And also from these reasons we coniecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northerne coasts (which is most likely), or if there be, that yet it is vnnauigable. Adde hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg., yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and euen in that height, when we had a franke wind to haue carried vs through, had there beene a passage, yet we had a smooth and calme sea, with ordinary

flowing and reflowing, which could not haue beene had there beene a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded, then coniectured, that there was none. But to returne.

The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he cast into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediatly with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3 day following, viz., the 21, our ship hauing receiued a leake at sea, was brought to anchor neerer the shoare, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were to preuent any danger that might chance against our safety, our Generall first of all landed his men, with all necessary prouision, to build tents and make a fort for the defence of our selues and goods: and that wee might vnder the shelter of it with more safety (what euer should befall) end our businesse; which when the people of the countrey perceiued vs doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their countrie, in great hast and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came downe vnto vs, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt vs: standing, when they drew neere, as men rauished in their mindes, with the sight of such things as they neuer had seene or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and feare to worship vs as Gods, then to haue any warre with vs as with mortall men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itselfe at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signes to lay from them their bowes and arrowes, they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies vnto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women.

To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselues so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that wee might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our Generall, with all his company, vsed all meanes possible gently to intreate them, bestowing vpon each of them liberally good and necessary things to couer their nakednesse; withall signifying vnto them we were no Gods, but men, and had neede of such things to couer our owne shame; teaching them to vse them to the same ends, for which cause

also wee did eate and drinke in their presence, giuing them to vnderstand that without that wee could not liue, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding nothing could perswade them, nor remoue that opinion which they had conceiued of vs, that wee should be Gods.

In recompence of those things which they had receiued of vs, as shirts, linnen cloth, etc., they bestowed vpon our Generall, and diuerse of our company, diuerse things, as feathers, cawles of networke, the quiuers of their arrowes, made of fawne skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore vpon their bodies. Hauing thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding of vs, they departed with ioy to their houses, which houses are digged round within the earth, and haue from the vppermost brimmes of the circle clefts of wood set vp, and ioyned close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a Church; which being couered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warme; the doore in the most part of them performes the office also of a chimney to let out the smoake: its made in bignesse and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise: their beds are the hard ground, onely with rushes strewed vpon it, and lying round about the house, haue their fire in the middest, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giueth a maruelous reflexion to their bodies to heate the same.

Their men for the most part goe naked; the women take a kinde of bulrushes, and kembing it after the manner of hemp, make themselues thereof a loose garment, which being knitte about their middles, hanges downe about their hippes, and so affordes to them a couering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they weare also the skin of a deere, with the haire vpon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all

seruices; yet of themselues offring to do nothing, without the consents or being called of the men.

As soone as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselues a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out; which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left vs (being neere about 3 quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainely, with wonder and admiration, did heare the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and dolefull manner of shreeking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselues, and awfull demeanour vsed towards vs, we thought it no wisedome too farre to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with vs before, made vs carefull to prouide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen), and therefore with all expedition we set vp our tents, and intrenched ourselues with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselues, we might be able to keepe off the enemie (if they should so proue) from comming amongst us without our good wills: this being quickly finished, we went the more cheerefully and securely afterward about our other businesse.

Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuited by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselues into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobàh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chiefe speaker) wearied both vs his hearers, and himselfe too, with a long and tedious oration;

deliuered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the vttermost strength of nature, and his wordes falling so thicke one in the necke of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath againe: as soone as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reuerend bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cryed *Oh:* thereby giuing their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had vttered their minde by his mouth vnto vs; which done, the men laying downe their bowes vpon the hill, and leauing their women and children behinde them, came downe with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselues happy that they might haue accesse vnto our Generall, but much more happy when they sawe that he would receiue at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselues neerest vnto God when they sate or stood next to him. In the meane time the women, as if they had beene desperate, vsed vnnatural violence against themselues, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nailes from their cheekes in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming downe along their brests, besides despoiling the vpper parts of their bodies of those single couerings they formerly had, and holding their hands aboue their heads that they might not rescue their brests from harme, they would with furie cast themselues vpon the ground, neuer respecting whether it were cleane or soft, but dashed themselues in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whatsoeuer else lay in their way, itterating the same course againe and againe; yea women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till 15 or 16 times (till their strengths failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselues: a thing more grieuous for vs to see or suffer, could we haue holpe it, then trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it. This

bloudie sacrifice (against our wils) beeing thus performed, our Generall, with his companie, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signes in lifting vp our eyes and hands to heauen, signified vnto them that that God whom we did serue, and whom they ought to worship, was aboue: beseeching God, if it were his good pleasure, to open by some meanes their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him, the true and euerliuing God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the saluation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentiuely: and obseruing the end at euery pause, with one voice still cried, Oh, greatly reioycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoeuer they resorted to vs, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaáh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

Our Generall hauing now bestowed vpon them diuers things, at their departure they restored them all againe, none carrying with him anything of whatsoeuer hee had receiued, thinking themselues sufficiently enriched and happie that they had found so free accesse to see vs.

Against the end of three daies more (the newes hauing the while spread itselfe farther, and as it seemed a great way vp into the countrie), were assembled the greatest number of people which wee could reasonably imagine to dwell within any conuenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the king himselfe, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, viz., *June* 26, came downe to see vs.

Before his comming, were sent two embassadors or messengers to our Generall, to signifie that their *Hióh*, that is, their king, was comming and at hand. They in the deliuery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word

by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about halfe an houre. Which being ended, they by signes made request to our Generall, to send something by their hands to their *Hióh* or king, as a token that his comming might be in peace. Our Generall willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy returne to their *Hióh*. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his traine came forward.

In their comming forwards they cryed continually after a singing manner, with a lustie courage. And as they drew neerer and neerer towards vs, so did they more and more striue to behaue themselues with a certaine comelinesse and grauity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the Septer or royall mace, made of a certaine kind of blacke wood, and in length about a yard and a halfe) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crownes, a bigger and a lesse, with three chaines of a maruellous length, and often doubled, besides a bagge of the herbe *Tabáh*. The crownes were made of knitworke, wrought vpon most curiously with feathers of diuers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formall fashion. The chaines seemed of a bony substance, euery linke or part thereof being very little, thinne, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the middest. The number of linkes going to make one chaine, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to weare the same; and euen they to whom its lawfull to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall vse, as some ten, some twelue, some twentie, and as they exceed in number of chaines, so thereby are they knowne to be the more honorable personages.

Next vnto him that bare this Scepter, was the king himselfe with his guard about him; his attire vpon his head was

a cawle of knitworke, wrought vpon somewhat like the crownes, but differing much both in fashion and perfectnesse of worke; vpon his shoulders he had on a coate of the skins of conies, reaching to his wast; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some hauing cawles likewise stucke with feathers, or couered ouer with a certaine downe, which groweth vp in the countrey vpon an herbe much like our lectuce, which exceeds any other downe in the world for finenesse, and beeing layed vpon their cawles, by no winds can be remoued. Of such estimation is this herbe amongst them, that the downe thereof is not lawfull to be worne, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to weare a plume of feathers on their heads, in signe of honour), and the seeds are not vsed but onely in sacrifice to their gods. After these, in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people, whose haire being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stucke plumes of feathers; but in the forepart onely single feathers like hornes, euery one pleasing himselfe in his owne deuice.

This one thing was obserued to bee generall amongst them all, that euery one had his face painted, some with white, some blacke, and some with other colours, euery man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their traine or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, hauing within them diuers things, as bagges of *Tobâh*, a roote which they call *Petáh*, whereof they make a kind of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eate it raw; broyled fishes, like a pilchard; the seede and downe aforenamed, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep boale, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuffe, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brimmes they were hanged

with peeces of the shels of pearles, and in some places with two or three linkes at a place, of the chaines forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the onely vse of the gods they worshipped; and besides this, they were wrought vpon with the matted downe of red feathers, distinguished into diuers workes and formes.

In the meane time, our Generall hauing assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himselfe to stand vpon sure ground, that wee might at all times be ready in our owne defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

Wherefore euery man being in a warlike readinesse, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had beene desperate enemies, they could not haue chosen but haue conceiued terrour and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against vs, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat neere vnto vs, trooping together, they gaue vs a common or generall salutation, obseruing in the meane time a generall silence. Whereupon, he who bare the Scepter before the king, being prompted by another whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least halfe an houre. At the close whereof there was a common *Amen*, in signe of approbation, giuen by euery person: and the king himselfe, with the whole number of men and women (the little children onely remaining behind) came further downe the hill, and as they came set themselues againe in their former order.

And being now come to the foot of the hill and neere our fort, the Scepter bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage began a song, and answerable thereunto

obserued a kind of measures in a dance: whom the king with his guard and euery other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our Generall perceiuing their plaine and simple meaning, gaue order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwarke. Where, after they had entred, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassaile boales in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torne, their dugges, breasts, and other parts bespotted with bloud, trickling downe from the wounds, which with their nailes they had made before their comming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselues in this manner, they made signes to our Generall to haue him sit down; unto whom both the king and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather, indeed, if wee had vnderstood them, supplications, that hee would take the Prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselues and their posterities: which that they might make vs indeed beleeue that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himselfe, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offering vnto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyóh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seeme) a song and dance of triumph; because they were not onely visited of the gods (for so they still iudged vs to be), but the great and chiefe God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselues were become the onely happie and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same, both for that he would

not giue them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the onely place, wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things), and chiefely for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to passe, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.

Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselues to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by the preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God.

The ceremonies of this resigning and receiuing of the kingdome being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leauing the king and his guard about him, with our Generall, dispersed themselues among our people, taking a diligent view or suruey of euery man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of vs), they presently enclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them, crying out with lamentable shreekes and moanes, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nailes; neither were it the women alone which did this, but euen old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Sathan so farre preuaile in seducing these so harmelesse soules, and laboured

by all meanes, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serued not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madnesse, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift vp towards heauen) to the liuing God whom they ought to serue; but so mad were they vpon their Idolatry, that forcible withholding them would not preuaile (for as soone as they could get liberty to their hands againe, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped were conueyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselues, they would with fury and outrage seeke to haue againe.

After that time had a little qualified their madnes, they then began to shew and make knowne vnto vs their griefes and diseases which they carried about them; some of them hauing old aches, some shruncke sinewes, some old soares and canchred vlcers, some wounds more lately receiued, and the like; in most lamentable manner crauing helpe and cure thereof from vs; making signes, that if we did but blowe vpon their griefes, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefes we could not but take pitty on them, and to our power desire to helpe them: but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might vnderstand we were but men and no gods, we vsed ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and vnguents, most fitly (as farre as our skills could guesse) agreeing to the natures of their griefes, beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to giue cure to their diseases by these meanes. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to vs.

Few were the dayes, wherein they were absent from vs, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily euery third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainely vnderstood our meaning, that we tooke no pleasure, but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeale abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased; notwithstanding they continued

still to make their resort vnto vs in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-times forgate to prouide meate for their owne sustenance; so that our Generall (of whom they made account as of a father) was faine to performe the office of a father to them, relieuing them with such victualls as we had prouided for our selues, as Muscles, Seales, and such like, wherein they tooke exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to vs, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence vs with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced vpon vs, though it were neuer so necessarie or needfull for themselues to keepe.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and louing nature, without guile or treachery; their bowes and arrowes (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they vse very skillfully, but yet not to do any great harme with them, being by reason of their weakenesse more fit for children then for men, sending the arrowes neither farre off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which 2 or 3 of our men could hardly beare, one of them would take vpon his backe, and without grudging carrie it easily away, vp hill and downe hill an English mile together: they are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the vse whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldome goe, but for the most part runne. One thing we obserued in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so neere the shoare that they might reach the place without swimming, they would neuer, or very seldome, misse to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well dispatched, our Generall, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a iourny vp into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we haue formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made seuerall villages here and there. The

inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kinde of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidaies coate was made of them.

This country our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes; the one in respect of the white bancks and cliffes, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called.

Before we went from thence, our Generall caused to be set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her maiesties and successors right and title to that kingdome; namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post; whereon is engrauen her graces name, and the day and yeare of our arriuall there, and of the free giuing vp of the prouince and kingdome, both by the king and people, into her maiesties hands: together with her highnesse picture and armes, in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing itselfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate; vnderneath was likewise engrauen the name of our Generall, etc.

The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceiued by

them to draw nigh, so did the sorrowes and miseries of this people seeme to themselues to increase vpon them, and the more certaine they were of our going away, the more doubtfull they shewed themselues what they might doe; so that we might easily iudge that that ioy (being exceeding great) wherewith they receiued vs at our first arriuall, was cleane drowned in their excessiue sorrow for our departing. For they did not onely loose on a sudden all mirth, ioy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar reioycing one with another, and all pleasure what euer flesh and blood might bee delighted in, but with sighes and sorrowings, with heauy hearts and grieued minds, they powred out wofull complaints and moanes, with bitter teares and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselues. And as men refusing all comfort, they onely accounted themselues as cast-awayes, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heauy a burthen, or to deliuer them from so desperate a straite, as our leauing of them did seeme to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enioy our presence, they (supposing vs to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreate vs that, being absent, we would yet be mindfull of them, and making signes of their desires that in time to come wee would see them againe, they stole vpon vs a sacrifice, and set it on fire erre we were aware, burning therein a chaine and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all meanes possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not preuaile, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalmes, whereby they were allured immediatly to forget their folly, and leaue their sacrifice vnconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating vs in all our actions, they fell a lifting of their eyes and hands to heauen, as they saw vs do.

The 23 of *July* they tooke a sorrowfull farewell of vs, but

being loath to leaue vs, they presently ranne to the top of the hils to keepe vs in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint *James*), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell *July* 24, whereon we found such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the day next following, viz., *July* 25. And our Generall now considering that the extremity of the cold not only continued, but increased, the Sunne being gone farther from vs, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the Northwest, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northerne parts, thought it necessarie to loose no time; and therefore with generall consent of all, bent his course directly to runne with the Ilands of the Moluccas. And so hauing nothing in our view but aire and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68 dayes together, wee continued our course through the maine Ocean, till *September* 30 following, on which day we fell in kenne of certaine Ilands, lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the line.

From these Ilands, presently vpon the discouery of vs, came a great number of canowes, hauing in each of them in some foure, in some sixe, in some fourteene or fifteene men, bringing with them Coquos, fish, potatoes, and certaine fruites to small purpose. Their canowes were made after the fashion that the canowes of all the rest of the Ilands of Moluccas for the most part are, that is, of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning, being made so smooth, both within and without, that they bore a glosse, as if it were a harnesse most finely burnished. A prowe and sterne they had of one fashion, yeelding inward in manner of a semi-

circle, of a great height, and hanged full of certaine white and glistering shels for brauery: on each side of their canowes, lay out two peeces of timber, about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the capacitie of their boate. At the ende whereof was fastned crossewise a great cane, the vse whereof was to keepe their canowes from ouerthrowing, and that they might be equally borne vp on each side.

The people themselues haue the neather parts of their eares cut round or circlewise, hanging downe very low vpon their cheekes, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight: the nailes on the fingers of some of them, were at least an inch long, and their teeth as blacke as pitch, the colour whereof they vse to renew by often eating of an herbe, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carrie about them to the same purpose. The first sort and company of those canowes beeing come to our ship (which then, by reason of a scant wind, made little way), very subtilly and against their natures, began in peace to traffique with vs, giuing us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceiued) hereby to worke a greater mischiefe to vs: intreating vs by signes most earnestly to draw nearer towards the shore, that they might (if possible) make the easier prey both of the ship and vs. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, wee were quickly able to guess at them what they were: for if they receiued anything once into their hands, they would neither giue recompence nor restitution of it, but thought whateuer they could finger to bee their owne, expecting alwayes with browes of brasse to receiue more, but would part with nothing. Yea, being reiected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would haue no more to do, vsing vs so euilly, they could not be satisfied till they had giuen that attempt to reuenge themselues, because we would not giue them whatsoeuer they would haue for nothing: and hauing stones good store in their canowes,

let flie a maine of them against vs. It was farre from our Generals meaning to requite their malice by like iniurie. Yet that they might knowe that he had power to do them harme (if he had listed) he caused a great peece to be shot off, not to hurt them, but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof they euery one leaped out of his canow into the water, and diuing vnder the keele of their boates, staied them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recouered into their canowes, and got them with speed toward the shoare.

Notwithstanding, other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort vnto vs. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence, they put on a shew of seeming honestie; and offering in shew to deale with vs by way of exchange, vnder that pretence they cunningly fell a filching of what they could, and one of them puld a dagger and kniues from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it againe, he rather used what meanes he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be to ridde of this vngracious company, till we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror: and so we left that place, by all passengers to bee knowne hereafter by the name of the *Island of Theeues.*

Till the third of *October* wee could not get cleare of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course within sight of land till the 16 of the same moneth, when we fell with foure Ilands standing in 7 deg. 5 min. to the Northward of the line. We coasted them till the 21 day, and then anchored and watered vpon the biggest of them, called Mindanao. The 22 of *October*, as we past betweene two Ilands, about sixe or eight leagues South of Mindanao, there came from them two canows to haue talked with vs, and we would willingly haue talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put vs from them to the Southwards. *October* 25 we passed

by the Iland named *Talao,* in 3 deg. 40 min. We saw to the Northward of it three or foure other Ilands, *Teda, Selan, Saran* (three Ilands so named to vs by an Indian), the middle whereof stands in 3 deg. We past the last saue one of these, and the first day of the following moneth in like manner we past the Ile *Suaro,* in 1 deg. 30 min., and the third of *November* wee came in sight of the Ilands of the *Moluccaes,* as we desired.

These are foure high piked Ilands; their names, *Tirenáte, Tidóre, Matchan, Batchan,* all of them very fruitfull and yeelding abundance of cloues, whereof wee furnished our selues of as much as we desired at a very cheape rate. At the East of them lyes a very great Iland called *Gillola.*

We directed our course to haue gone to *Tidore,* but in coasting along a little Iland belonging to the king of *Terenate, November* 4, his deputy or Viceroy with all expedition came off to our ship in a canow, and without any feare or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who after some conference with our Generall, intreated him by any meanes to runne with *Terenate,* not with *Tidore,* assuring him that his king would be wondrous glad of his comming, and be ready to do for him what he could, and what our Generall in reason should require. For which purpose he himselfe would that night bee with his king to carry him the newes; with whom if he once dealt, he should find, that as he was a king, so his word should stand: whereas if he dealt with the Portingals (who had the command of *Tidore*) he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides that if he went to *Tidore* before he came to *Terenate,* then would his king haue nothing to doe with vs, for he held the Portingall as an enemy. On these perswasions our Generall resolved to runne with *Terenate,* where the next day, very early in the morning, we came to anchor: and presently our General sent a messenger to the king with a velvet cloake, for a present and token that his comming

should be in peace; and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his victuals being spent in so long a voiage) he might haue supply from him by way of traffique and exchange of marchandise (whereof he had store of diuers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawfull, and that he offered him no preiudice or wrong therein, as also because he was intreated to repaire to that place by his Viceroy at Mutir, who assured him of necessarie prouision in such manner as now he required the same.

Before this the Viceroy, according to his promise, had beene with the king, signifying vnto him what a mighty Prince and kingdome we belonged vnto, what good things the king might receiue from vs, not onely now, but for hereafter by way of traffique: yea what honour and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and friendship with so noble and famous a Prince as we serued: and farther, what a discouragement it would be to the Portugals his enemies to heare and see it. In hearing whereof the king was so presently moued to the well liking of the matter, that before our messenger could come halfe the way, he had sent the Viceroy, with diuers others of his Nobles and Councillors to our Generall, with speciall message that he should not onely haue what things he needed, or would require with peace and friendship, but that he would willingly entertaine amitie with so famous and renowned a Princes as was ours; and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffique of his whole Iland from others, especially from his enemies the Portugals (from whom he had nothing but by the sword), and reserue it to the intercourse of our Nation, if we would embrace it. In token whereof he had now sent to our Generall his signet and would within short time after come in his owne person, with his brethren and Nobles, with boates or canowes into

our ship, and be a meanes of bringing her into a safer harbour.

While they were deliuering their message to vs, our messenger was come vnto the court, who being met by the way by certaine noble personages, was with great solemnitie conueied into the king's presence, at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained; and hauing deliuered his errand, together with his present vnto the king, the king seemed to him to iudge himselfe blame-worthy, that he had not sooner hasted in person to present himselfe to our Generall, who came so farre and from so great a Prince; and presently, with all expedition, he made ready himselfe with the chiefest of all his States and Councillors, to make repaire vnto vs.

The manner of his comming, as it was princely, so truly it seemed to vs very strange and maruellous: seruing at the present not so much to set out his owne royall and kingly state (which was great), as to do honour to her highnesse to whom we belonged; wherein how willingly he imployed himselfe, the sequell will make manifest.

First, therefore, before his comming, did he send off 3 great and large Canowes, in each whereof were certaine of the greatest personages that were about him, attired all of them in white Lawne, or cloth of Calecut, hauing ouer their heads, from one end of the Canow to the other, a couering of thinne and fine mats, borne vp by a frame made of reedes, vnder which euery man sate in order according to his dignitie; the hoary heads of many of them, set forth the greater reuerence due to their persons, and manifestly shewed that the king vsed the aduice of a graue and prudent Counsell in his affaires. Besides these were diuerse others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white, as were the other, but with manifest differences: hauing their places also vnder the same couering, but in inferior order, as their calling required.

The rest of the men were souldiers, who stood in comely order round about on both sides; on the outside of whom, againe did sit the rowers in certaine galleries, which being 3 on each side all alongst the Canow, did lie off from the side thereof, some 3 or 4 yards, one being orderly builded lower than the other: in euery of which galleries was an equall number of banckes, whereon did sit the rowers, about the number of foure scoure in one Canow. In the forepart of each Canow, sate two men, the one holding a Tabret, the other a piece of brasse, whereon they both at once stroke; and obseruing a due time and reasonable space betweene each stroake, by the sound thereof directed the rowers to keepe their stroake with their oares: as, on the contrary, the rowers ending their stroake with a song, gaue warning to the others to strike againe; and so continued they their way with maruelous swiftnesse. Neither were their Canowes naked or vnfurnished of warlike munition, they had each of thē at least one small cast piece, of about a yard in length, mounted vpon a stock, which was set vpright; besides euery man except the rowers, had his sword, dagger, and target, and some of them some other weapons, as lances, calliuers, bowes, arrowes, and many darts.

These Canowes comming neere our ship in order, rowed round about vs one after another; and the men as they passe by vs, did vs a kinde of homage with great solemnity, the greatest personages beginning first, with reuerend countenance and behauiour, to bow their bodies euen to the ground; which done, they put our owne messenger aboard vs againe, and signified to vs that their king (who himselfe was comming) had sent them before him to conduct our ship into a better roade, desiring a halser to be giuen them forth, that they might employ their seruice as their king commanded, in towing our ship therewith to the place assigned.

The king himselfe was not farre behinde, but he also with 6 graue and ancient fathers in his Canow approaching, did at

once, together with them, yeeld vs a reuerend kinde of obeysance, in farre more humble manner then was to be expected; he was of a tall stature, very corpulent and well set together, of a very princely and gratious countenance: his respect amongst his owne was such, that neither his Viceroy of Mutir aforenamed, nor any other of his counsellers, durst speake vnto him but vpon their knees, not rising againe till they were licenced.

Whose comming, as it was to our Generall no small cause of good liking, so was he receiued in the best manner we could, answerable vnto his state; our ordinance thundred, which wee mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of musick, both of still and loud noise; wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our musick to come unto the boate, hee ioyned his Canow to the same, and was towed at least a whole houre together, with the boate at the sterne of our ship. Besides this, our Generall sent him such presents, as he thought might both requite his courtesy already receiued, and worke a farther confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begunne.

The king being thus in musicall paradise, and enioying that wherewith he was so highly pleased, his brother, named *Moro*, with no lesse brauery then any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repaire, and gaue vs like respect; and his homage done he fell asterne of vs, till we came to anchor: neither did our Generall leaue his curtesie vnrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

The king, as soone as we were come to anchor, craued pardon to be gone, and so tooke leaue, promising vs that the next day he would come aboard, and in the meane time would prepare and send such victualls as were requisite and necessary for our prouision.

Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following,

we receiued what was there to be had in the way of traffique, to wit, rice in pretty quantity, hennes, sugar canes, imperfect and liquid sugar, a fruit which they call *Figo* (*Magellane* calls it a figge of a span long, but is no other then that which the Spaniards and Portingalls haue named *Plantanes*), *Cocoes*, and a kind of meale which they call *Sago*, made of the toppes of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like soure curds, but meltes away like sugar; whereof they make a kinde of cake, which will keepe good at least 10 yeares; of this last we made the greatest quantity of our prouision: for a few cloues wee did also traffique, whereof, for a small matter, wee might haue had greater store then we could well tell where to bestow: but our Generalls care was, that the ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith.

At the time appointed, our Generall (hauing set all things in order to receiue him) looked for the kings returne, who failing both in time and promise, sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreat our Generall to come on shoare, his brother being the while to remaine aboard, as a pawne for his safe restoring: our Generall could willingly haue consented, if the king himselfe had not first broke his word: the consideration whereof bred an vtter disliking in the whole company, who by no meanes would giue consent he should hazard himselfe, especially for that the kings brother had vttered certaine words, in secret conference with our Generall aboard his cabbin, which bred no small suspition of ill intent. Our Generall being thus resolued not to goe ashoare at that time, reserued the Viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certaine of his gentlemen to the Court, both to accompany the kings brother, and also with speciall message to the king himselfe.

They being come somewhat neere vnto the castle, were receiued by another brother of the kings, and certaine others of the greatest states, and conducted with great honour towards the castle, where being brought into a large

and faire house, they saw gathered together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least 1000, the chiefe whereof were placed round about the house, according as it seemed to their degrees and calling; the rest remained without.

The house was in forme foure square, couered all ouer with cloth of diuerse colours, not much vnlike our vsuall pentadoes borne vpon a frame of reedes, the sides being open from the groundsell to the couering, and furnished with seates round about: it seemes it was there councell-house, and not commonly employed to any other vse.

At the side of this house, next vnto the castle, was seated the chaire of state, hauing directly ouer it, and extending very largely euery way, a very faire and rich canopy, as the ground also, for some 10 or 12 paces compasse, was couered with cloth of Arras.

Whilest our gentlemen attended in this place the comming of the king, which was about the space of halfe an houre, they had the better opportunity to obserue these things; as also that before the kings comming there were already set threescore noble, graue, and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the kings priuy Councell; at the neather end of the house were placed a great company of yong men, of comely personage and attire. With out the house, on the right side, stood foure ancient comely hoare-headed men, cloathed all in red downe to the ground, but attired on their heads not much vnlike the Turkes; these they called Romans, or strangers, who lay as lidgiers there to keepe continuall traffique with this people: there were also two Turkes, one Italian, as lidgiers: and last of all one Spaniard, who being freed by the king out of the hands of the Portugals, in the recouering of the Iland, serued him now instead of a souldier.

The king at last comming from the castle, with 8 or 10 more graue Senators following him, had a very rich canopy (adorned in the middest with embossings of gold) borne

ouer him, and was garded with 12 lances, the points turned downward: our men (accompanied with *Moro* the kings brother) arose to meet him, and he very gratiously did welcome and entertaine them. He was for person, such as we haue before described him, of lowe voice, temperate in speech, of kingly demeanour, and a Moore by nation. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his countrey, but farre more sumptuous, as his condition and state required: from the wast to the ground was all cloth of gold, and that very rich; his legges bare, but on his feet a paire of shooes of cordiuant, died red; in the attire of his head, were finely wreathed in diuerse rings of plated gold, of an inch or an inch and a halfe in breadth, which made a faire and princely shew, somewhat resembling a crowne in forme; about his necke hee had a chaine of perfect gold, the linkes very great and one fold double; on his left hand was a Diamond, an Emerald, a Ruby, and a Turky, 4 very faire and perfect jewells; on his right hand, in one ring, a big and perfect Turky; and in another ring many Diamonds of a smaller size, very artificially set and couched together.

As thus he sate in his chaire of state, at his right side there stood a page with a very costly fanne (richly embrodered and beset with Saphires) breathing and gathering the aire to refresh the king, the place being very hot, both by reason of the sunne, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while, our gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued answer, were licenced to depart, and were safely conducted backe againe, by one of the chiefe of the kings Councell, who had charge from the king himselfe to performe the same.

Our gentlemen obseruing the castle as well as they could, could not conceiue it to be a place of any great force; two onely canons there they saw, and those at that present vntrauersable because vnmounted. These, with all other furniture of like sort which they haue, they haue gotten them

from the Portingals, by whom the castle itselfe was also builded, whiles they inhabited that place and Iland. Who seeking to settle a tyrannous gouernment (as in other places so) ouer this people, and not contenting themselues with a better estate then they deserued (except they might, as they thought, make sure worke by leauing none of the royall bloud aliue, who should make challenge to the kingdome), cruelly murthered the king himselfe (father to him who now reigns), and intended the like to all his sonnes. Which cruelty, instead of establishing, brought such a shaking on their vsurped estate, that they were faine, without couenanting to carrie away goods, munition, or any thing else, to quitte the place and the whole Iland to saue their liues.

For the present king with his brethren, in reuenge of their fathers murther, so bestirred themselues, that the Portingall was wholly driuen from that Iland, and glad that he yet keepes footing in *Tidore*. These foure yeares this king hath beene increasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, Lord of an hundred Ilands thereabout, and was euen now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the Portingals for *Tidore* it selfe.

The people are Moores, whose religion consists much in certaine superstitious obseruations of new moones, and certaine seasons, with a rigid and strickt kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue, who lay aboard vs all the time for the most part during our abode in this place: who during their prescribed time, would neither eate nor drinke, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in their selfe-deuised worship), but yet in the night would eate three times, and that very largely. This *Terenate* stands in 27 min. North latitude.

While we rode at anchor in the harbour at *Terenate*, besides the natiues there came aboard vs another, a goodly gentleman, very well accompanied, with his interpreter, to

uiew our ship and to conferre with our Generall: he was apparelled much after our manner, most neate and courtlike, his carriage the most respectiue and full of discreet behauiour that euer we had seene. Hee told us that he was himselfe but a stranger in those Ilands, being a naturall of the Prouince of *Paghia* in *China;* his name *Pausaos*, of the familie of *Hombu* :* of which familie there had 11 raigned in continuall succession these two hundred yeares, and king *Bonog*,† by the death of his elder brother (who dyed by a fall from his horse), the rightfull heire of all *China*, is the twelfth of this race: he is 22 yeares of age; his mother yet liuing: he hath a wife, and by her one sonne; he is well beloued, and highly honoured of all his subiects, and liues in great peace from any feare of forreine inuasion; but it was not this mans fortune to enioy his part of this happinesse both of his king and countrey, as hee most desired.

For being accused of a capitall crime, whereof (though free), yet he could not euidently make his innocence appeare, and knowing the peremptory iustice of *China* to be irreuocable, if he should expect the sentence of the Iudges; he before hand made suite to his king, that it would please him to commit his triall to Gods prouidence and iudgment, and to that end to permit him to trauell on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy intelligence, such as his Maiestie had neuer had before, and were most fit to be knowne, and most honorable for *China*, he should for euer liue an exile, or else dye for daring to set foot againe in his owne country; for he was assured that the God of heauen had care of innocency.

The king granted his suite, and now he had beene three yeare abroad, and at this present came from *Tidore* (where

* Probably Hung-woo—the head of the Ming dynasty, who reigned A.D. 1368.

† Perhaps Wan-le—the reigning name of the House of Shin-tsing, AD. 1573 1620.

he had remained two moneths) to see the English Generall, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford it) to learne some such intelligence as might make way for his returne into his country: and therefore he earnestly intreated our Generall to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his comming so far from England thither, with the manifold occurences that had happened to him by the way.

Our Generall gaue ample satisfaction to each part of his request; the stranger hearkened with great attention and delight to his discourse, and as he naturally excelled in memory (besides his helpe of art to better the same), so he firmely printed it in his mind, and with great reuerence thanked God, who had so vnexpectedly brought him to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to intreate our Generall with many most earnest and vehement perswasions, that he would be content to see his countrey before his departure any farther Westward; that it should be a most pleasant, most honourable, and most profitable thing for him; that he should gaine hereby the notice, and carrie home the description of one of the most ancient, mightiest, and richest kingdomes in the world. Hereupon he tooke occasion to relate the number and greatnesse of the Provinces, with the rare commodities and good things they yeelded: the number, statelinesse, and riches of their Cities, with what abundance of men, victuals, munition, and all manner of necessaries and delightful things they were stored with; in particular touching ordnance and great gunnes (the late inuention of a scab-shind Frier amongst vs in Europe): he related that in *Suntien* (by some called *Quinzai*), which is the chiefest Citie of all *China*, they had brasse ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be trauersed then ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) aboue 2000 yeares agoe. With many other worthie things which our Generals owne experience (if it would please him to make

triall) would (better then his relation) assure him of. The brize would shortly serue very fitly to carrie him thither, and he himselfe would accompanie him all the way. He accounted himselfe a happie man that he had but seene and spoken with vs; the relation of it might perhaps serue him to recouer fauour in the countrey: but if he could preuaile with our Generall himselfe to go thither, he doubted not but it would be a meanes of his great advancement, and increase of honour with his king. Notwithstanding our Generall could not on such perswasions be induced, and so the stranger parted sorrie that he could not preuaile in his request, yet exceeding glad of the intelligence he had learned.

By the ninth of *Nouember*, hauing gotten what prouision the place could affoord vs, wee then set sayle: and considering that our ship for want of trimming was now growne foule, that our caske and vessels for water were much decayed, and that diuers other things stood in need of reparation; our next care was, how wee might fall with such a place where with safetie we might a while stay for the redressing of these inconueniencies. The calmenesse of the winds, which are almost continuall before the comming of the brize (which was not yet expected), perswaded vs it was the fittest time that we could take.

With this resolution wee sayled along till *Nouember* 14, at what time we arriued at a little Iland (to the Southward of *Celébes*) standing in 1 deg. 40 min. towards the pole antarticke: which being without inhabitants, gaue vs the better hope of quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place conuenient for our purposes (there wanting nothing here which we stood in need of, but onely water, which wee were faine to fetch from another Iland somewhat farther to the South), made our abode here for 26 whole dayes together.

The first thing we did, we pitched our tents and intrenched ourselues as strongly as we could vpon the shoare, lest at any time perhaps we might haue beene disturbed by the inha-

bitants of the greater Iland which lay not farre to the Westward of vs; after we had prouided thus for our security, wee landed our goods, and had a Smith's forge set vp, both for the making of some necessarie shipworke, and for the repairing of some iron-hooped caskes, without which they could not long haue serued our vse: and for that our Smiths coales were all spent long before this time, there was order giuen and followed for the burning of charcoale, by which that want might be supplyed.

We trimd our ship, and performed our other businesses to our content. The place affording vs, not onely all necessaries (which we had not of our owne before) thereunto, but also wonderfull refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable reliefe and excellent prouision that here we found, whereby of sickely, weake, and decayed (as many of vs seemed to be before our comming hither), we in short space grew all of vs to be strong, lusty, and healthfull persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of God's wonderfull wisedome in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw.

The whole Iland is a through growne wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, uery straight and cleane without bowes, saue onely in the very top. The leaues whereof are not much vnlike our broomes in England. Among these trees, night by night, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fierie-seeming-wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies (no bigger than an ordinarie flie) did make a shew, and giue such light as if euery twigge on euery tree had beene a lighted candle, or as if that place had beene the starry spheare. To these wee may adde the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge Bats or reare mice, equalling or rather exceeding a good Henne in bignesse. They flie with maruellous swiftnesse, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang onely by the bowes with their backes downeward.

Neither may wee without ingratitude (by reason of the speciall vse we made of them) omit to speake of the huge multitude of a certaine kinde of Crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfie foure hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restoratiue meate; the especiall meane (as we conceiued it) of our increase of health.

They are, as farre as we could perceiue, vtter strangers to the sea, liuing alwayes on the land, where they worke themselues earths as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caues vnder the rootes of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselues by companies together. Of the same sort and kind, we found in other places about the Iland *Celébes*, some that, for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did clime vp into trees to hide themselues, whither we were enforced to clime after them, if we would haue them, which wee would not sticke to do rather then to be without them: this Iland we called *Crab-iland*.

All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our Generall prepared to be in a readinesse to take the first aduantage of the comming of the brize or winde which we expected; and hauing the day before furnished our selues with fresh water from the other Iland, and taken in prouision of wood and the like, *December* 12 we put to sea, directing our course toward the West; the 16 day wee had sight of the Iland *Celébes* or *Silébis*, but hauing a bad winde, and being intangled among many Ilandes, incumbred also with many other difficulties, and some dangers, and at last meeting with a deep bay, out of which we could not in three daies turne out againe, wee could not by any means recouer the North of *Silébis*, or continue on our course farther West, but were inforced to alter the same toward the South; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous by reason of many shoales, which lay farre off, here and there among the

Ilands; insomuch that in all our passages from England hitherto, we had neuer more care to keepe our selues afloate, and from sticking on them: thus were we forced to beate vp and downe with extraordinary care and circumspection till *January* 9, at which time we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the lands turning euidently in our sight about to Westward, and the wind being enlarged, followed vs as we desired with a reasonable gale.

When loe, on a sudden, when we least suspected, no shew or suspition of danger appearing to vs, and we were now sailing onward with full sailes, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, euen in a moment, our ship was laid vp fast vpon a desperate shoale, with no other likelihood in appearance, but that wee with her must there presently perish; there being no probability how any thing could be saued, or any person scape aliue.

The vnexpectednesse of so extreame a danger, presently roused vs vp to looke about vs, but the more we looked the lesse hope we had of getting cleere of it againe, so that nothing now presenting itselfe to our mindes, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respit or time of pausing, called vpon vs to deny ourselues, and to commend our selues into the mercifull hands of our most gratious God: to this purpose wee presently fell prostrate, and with ioyned prayers sent vp vnto the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy vnto vs in his sonne *Christ Iesus*, and so preparing as it were our neckes vnto the blocke, we euery minute expected the finall stroake to be giuen vnto vs.

Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet (that we might not seeme to tempt God, by leauing any second meanes vnattempted which he afforded) presently, as soone as prayers were ended, our Generall (exhorting vs to haue the especiallest care of the better part, to wit, the soule, and adding many comfortable speeches, of

the ioyes of that other life, which wee now alone looked for) incouraged vs all to bestirre our selues, shewing vs the way thereto by his owne example; and first of all the pump being well plyed, and the ship freed of water, we found our leakes to be nothing increased, which though it gaue vs no hope of deliuerance, yet it gaue vs some hope of respit, insomuch as it assured vs that the bulke was sound, which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate prouidence of God alone, insomuch, as no strength of wood and iron could haue possibly borne so hard and violent a shocke as our ship did, dashing herselfe vnder full saile against the rockes, except the extraordinary hand of God had supported the same.

Our next assay was for good ground and anchorhold to seaward of vs (whereon to hale), by which meanes, if by any, our Generall put vs in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to cleere ourselues: in his owne person he therefore vndertooke the charge of sounding, and but euen a boates length from the ship, he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached vnto; so that the beginnings of hope, which wee were willing to haue conceiued before, were by this meanes quite dasht againe; yea our misery seemed to be increased, for whereas at first wee could looke for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned into the awaiting for a lingring death, of the two the farre more fearefull to be chosen: one thing fell out happily for vs, that the most of our men did not conceiue this thing; which had they done, they would in all likelihood haue beene so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable them to haue sought the remedy: our Generall, with those few others that would iudge of the euent wisely, dissembling the same and giuing, in the meane time, cheerful speeches and good incouragements vnto the rest.

For whiles it seemed to be a cleere case, that our ship was so fast moared that shee could not stirr, it necessarily fol-

lowed that either we were there to remaine on the place with her, or else, leauing her, to commit our selues in a most poore and helplesse state, to seeke some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choices did carry with it the appearance of worse than 1000 deathes.

As touching our ship, this was the comfort that shee could giue vs, that shee herselfe lying there confined already vpon the hard and pinching rocks, did tell vs plaine, that shee continually expected her speedy dispatch, as soone as the sea and windes should come, to be the seuere executioners of that heauy iudgment, by the appointment of the eternall iudge alreadie giuen vpon her, who had committed her there to Adamantine bonds in a most narrow prison, against there comming for that purpose: so that if we would stay with her, we must peril with her; or if any, by any yet vnperceiuable meanes, should chance to be deliuered, his escape must needs be a perpetuall misery, it being farre better to haue perished together, then with the losse and absence of his friends to liue in a strange land: whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild beastes, as a bird on the mountaines without all comfort, or among the barbarous people of the heathen, in intollerable bondage both of body and minde.

And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred longer then either reason could perswade vs, or in any likelihood could seeme possible (it being not in the power of earthly things, to indure what shee had suffred already), yet could our abode there profit vs nothing, but increase our wretchednesse and enlarge our sorrows; for as her store and victualls were not much, (sufficient to sustaine vs onely some few daies, without hope of hauing any increase, no not so much as of a cup of cold water), so must it inenitably come to passe, that we (as children in the mother's wombe) should be driuen euen to eate the flesh from of our owne armes, shee being no longer able to sustaine vs; and

how horrible a thing this would haue proued, is easy by any one to be perceiued.

And whither (had we departed from her) should we haue receiued any comfort; nay the very impossibility of going appeared to be no lesse then those other before mentioned: our boate was by no meanes able at once to carry aboue 20 persons with any safety, and we were 58 in all; the neerest land was six leagues from vs, and the winde from the shoare directly bent against vs; or should we haue thought of setting some ashoare, and after that to haue fetched the rest, there being no place thereabout without inhabitants, the first that had landed must first haue fallen into the hand of the enemie, and so the rest in order, and though perhaps we might escape the sword, yet would our life haue beene worse than death, not alone in respect of our wofull captiuity and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being to be depriued of all publique meanes of seruing the true God, and continually grieued with the horrible impieties and diuellish idolatries of the heathen.

Our miserie beeing thus manifest, the very consideration whereof must needs haue shaken flesh and bloud, if faith in God's promises had not mightily sustained vs, we past the night with earnest longings that the day would once appeare, the meane time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting ourselues, and refreshing our hearts, striuing to bring ourselues to an humble submission vnder the hand of God, and to a referring our selues wholly to his good will and pleasure.

The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full sea about that time, after we had giuen thankes to God for his forbearing of vs hitherto, and had with tears called vpon him to blesse our labours; we againe renewed our trauell to see if we could now possibly find any anchor hold, which we had formerly sought in vaine. But this second attempt proued as fruitlesse as the former, and left vs

nothing to trust to but prayers and tears, seeing it appeared impossible that euer the forecast, counsell, pollicie, or power of man could euer effect the deliuery of our ship, except the Lord onely miraculously should do the same.

It was therefore presently motioned, and by generall voice determined, to commend our case to God alone, leauing our selues wholly in his hand to spill or saue us, as seeme best to his gracious wisedome. And that our faith might bee the better strengthened, and the comfortable apprehension of God's mercie in Christ be more clearely felt, we had a Sermon, and the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Sauiour celebrated.

After this sweet repast was thus receiued, and other holy exercises adioyned were ended, lest we should seeme guilty in any respect for not vsing all lawfull meanes we could inuent, we fell to one other practise yet vnassayed, to wit, to vnloading of our ship by casting some of her goods into the sea: which thing, as it was attempted most willingly, so it was dispatched in very short time: So that euen those things which we before this time, nor any other in our case could be without, did now seeme as things onely worthy to be despised, yea we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defence, nor the uery meale for sustentation of our liues could find fauour with vs, but euerie thing as it first came to hand went ouerboard; assuring ourselues of this, that if it pleased God once to deliuer vs out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for vs against our enemies, neither would he suffer vs to perish for want of bread. But when all was done, it was not any of our endeuours, but Gods onely hand that wrought our deliuerie; 'twas he alone that brought vs euen vnder the very stroake of death; 'twas he alone that said vnto vs, Returne againe ye sonnes of men; 'twas he alone that set vs at liberty againe, that made vs safe and free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition the full

space of twentie houres: to his glorious name be the euerlasting praise.

The manner of our deliuery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was onely this. The place whereon we sate so fast was a firme rocke in a cleft, whereof it was we stucke on the larbord side. At low water there was not aboue sixe foote depth in all on the starbord, within little distance as you haue heard no bottome to be found; the brize during the whole time that we thus were stayed, blew somewhat stiffe directly against our broadside, and so perforce kept the ship vpright. It pleased God in the beginning of the tyde, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slacke the stiffenesse of the wind; and now our ship, who required thirteene foot water to make her fleet, and had not at that time on the one side aboue seuen at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long alreadie kept her vp, fell a heeling towards the deepe water, and by that meanes freed her keele and made vs glad men.

This shoale is at least three or foure leagues in length; it lies in 2 deg., lacking three or four minutes, South latitude. The day of this deliverance was the tenth of *January*.

Of all the dangers that in our whole voyage we met with, this was the greatest; but it was not the last, as may appeare by what ensueth. Neither could we indeed for a long season free our selues from the continuall care and feare of them; nor could we euer come to any conuenient anchoring, but were continually for the most part tost amongst the many Ilands and shoales (which lye in infinite number round about on the South part of *Celébes*) till the eight day of the following moneth.

Jan. 12, being not able to beare our sayles, by reason of the tempest, and fearing of the dangers, we let fall our anchors vpon a shoale in 3 deg. 30 min. *Jan.* 14, we were gotten a little farther South, where, at an Iland in 4 deg. 6 min., we againe cast anchor, and spent a day in watering and

wooding. After this wee met with foule weather, Westerly winds, and dangerous shoales for many dayes together; insomuch that we were vtterly weary of this coast of *Sillebis*, and thought best to beare with *Timor*. The Southernmost cape of *Sillebis* stands in 5 deg. that side the line.

But of this coast of *Sillebis* we could not so easily cleare ourselues. The 20 of *January* we were forced to runne with a small Iland not farre from thence; where hauing sent our boate a good distance from vs to search out a place where we might anchor, wee were suddenly enuironed with no small extremities, for there arose a most violent, yea, an intollerable flaw and storme out of the Southwest against vs, making vs (who were on a lee shoare amongst most dangerous and hidden shoales) to feare extreamely, not onely the losse of our boate and men, but the present losse of ourselues, our ship, and goods, or the casting of those men, whom God should spare, into the hands of Infidels. Which misery could not by any power or industry of ours haue beene auoided, if the mercifull goodnesse of God had not (by staying the outragious extremities wherewith we were set vpon) wrought our present deliuery, by whose vnspeakable mercy our men and boates also were vnexpectedly, yet safely, restored vnto vs.

Wee gate off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26 day [*Jan.* 26], when the winde tooke vs, very strong against vs, West and West Southwest, so as that wee could beare no more saile till the end of that moneth was full expired.

February 1, we saw very high land, and as it seemed well inhabited: we would faine haue borne with it to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill that we could finde no harbour, and we were very fearefull of aduenturing ourselues too farre amongst the many dangers which were neere the shoare. The third day also we saw a little Iland, but being unable to beare any saile, but onely to ly at hull, we were by the storme carried away and could not fetch it.

February 6, we saw fiue Ilands, one of them towards the East, and foure towards the West of vs, one bigger than another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watred and wooded.

After we had gone on hence, on *February* 8 we descried two canowes, who hauing descried vs as it seemes before, came willingly vnto vs, and talked with vs, alluring and conducting vs to their towne not farre off, named *Baratiua;* it stands in 7 deg. 13 min. South the line.

The people are Gentiles, of handsome body and comely stature, of civill demeanour, very iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, of all which we had euident proofe, they shewing themselues most glad of our coming, and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants with whatsoever their country could afford. The men all goe naked saue their heads and secret parts, euery one hauing one thing or other hanging at his eares. Their women are couered from the middle to the foote, wearing vpon their naked arms bracelets, and that in no small number, some hauing nine at least vpon each arme, made for the most part of horne or brasse, whereof the lightest (by our estimation) would weigh 2 ounces.

With this people linnen cloth (whereof they make roles for their heads, and girdles to weare about their loynes) is the best marchandise and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with *Margaretas* (which in their language they call *Saleta*) and such other like trifles.

Their Iland is both rich and fruitfull; rich in gold, silver, copper, tinne, sulpher, etc. Neither are they onely expert to try those mettalls, but very skillfull also in working of them artificially into diuerse formes and shapes as pleaseth them best. Their fruites are diuerse likewise and plentifull, as nutmegges, ginger, long pepper, limons, cucumbers, cocoes, figoes, sagu, with diuerse other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bignesse, forme, and huske, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance, but pleasant in tast, which

being sod becometh soft, and is a most profitable and nourishing meate; of each of these wee receiued of them whatsoeuer wee desired for our need, insomuch that (such was God's gratious goodnesse to vs) the old prouerbe was verified with vs, *After a storme commeth a calme, after warre peace, after scarcity followeth plenty;* so that in all our voyage (*Terenate* onely excepted), from our departure out of our owne countrey, hitherto wee found not anywhere greater comfort and refreshing than we did at this time in this place. In refreshing and furnishing ourselves here we spent 2 days, and departed hence *February* 10.

When we were come into the height of 8 deg. 4 min., *Feb.* 12, in the morning we espied a greene Iland to the Southward; not long after, two other Ilands on the same side, and a great one more towards the North; they seemed all to be well inhabited, but wee had neither need nor desire to goe to visit them, and so we past by them. The 14 day wee saw some other reasonable bigge Ilands; and *February* 16 we past betweene foure or five bigge Ilands more, which lay in the height 9 deg. 40 min.

The 18, we cast anchor vnder a little Iland, whence we departed againe the day following; we wooded here, but other reliefe, except two turtles, we receiued none.

The 22 day we lost sight of three Ilands on our starboard side, which lay in 10 deg. and some odde minutes.

After this, we past on to the Westward without stay or anything to be taken notice of till the 9 of *March*, when in the morning wee espied land, some part thereof very high, in 8 deg. 20 min. South latitude; here we anchored that night, and the next day weighed againe, and bearing farther North, and neerer shoare, we came to anchor the second time.

The eleventh of *March* we first tooke in water, and after sent our boate againe to shoare, where we had traffique with the people of the country; whereupon, the same day, we brought our ship more neere the towne, and hauing setled

ourselues there that night, the next day our Generall sent his man ashoare to present the king with certaine cloth, both linnen and woollen, besides some silkes, which hee gladly and thankfully receiued, and returned rice, cocoes, hennes, and other victualls in way of recompense. This Iland we found to be the Iland *Jaua*, the middle whereof stands in 7 deg. and 30 min. beyond the equator.

The 13 of *March*, our Generall himself, with many of his gentlemen and others, went to shoare, and presented the king (of whom he was ioyfully and louingly receiued) with his musicke, and shewed him the manner of our vse of armes, by training his men with their pikes and other weapons which they had, before him. For the present we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more victuals to bee shortly sent vs.

In this Iland there is one chiefe, but many vndergouernors, or petty kings, whom they call *Raias*, who live in great familiaritie and friendship one with another. The 14 day we receiued victuals from two of them, and the day after that, to wit the 15, three of these kings in their owne persons came aboard to see our Generall, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainement which we gave them. And after these had beene with vs, and on their returne had, as it seemes, related what they found, *Raia Donan*, the chiefe king of the whole land, bringing victuals with him for our reliefe, he also the next day after came aboard vs. Few were the dayes that one or more of these kings did misse to visit vs, insomuch that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of *Raia Pataiára, Raia Cabocapálla, Raia Manghángo, Raia Boccabarra, Raia Timbánton:* whom our Generall alwayes entertained with the best cheere that wee could make, and shewed them all the commodities of our ship, with our ordnance and other armes and weapons, and the seuerall furnitures belonging to each, and the vses

for which they serued. His musicke also, and all things else whereby he might do them pleasure, wherein they tooke exceeding great delight with admiration.

One day amongst the rest, viz., *March* 21, *Raia Donan* coming aboard vs, in requitall of our musick which was made to him, presented our Generall with his country musick, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightfull: the same day he caused an oxe also to be brought to the waters side and deliuered to vs, for which he was to his content rewarded by our Generall with diuerse sorts of very costly silks, which he held in great esteeme.

Though our often giuing entertainment in this manner did hinder vs much in the speedy dispatching of our businesses, and made vs spend the more dayes about them, yet there we found all such conuenient helpes, that to our contents we at last ended them: the matter of greatest importance which we did (besides victualling) was the new trimming and washing of our ship, which by reason of our long voyage was so ouergrowne with a kind of shell-fish sticking fast vnto her, that it hindered her exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sayling.

The people (as are their kings) are a louing, a very true and a iust dealing people. We traffiqued with them for hens, goats, cocoes, plantons, and other kinds of victuals, which they offered vs in such plenty, that we might haue laden our ship if we had needed.

We tooke our leaves and departed from them the 26 of *March*, and set our course West South West, directly towards the cape of good hope, or *Bon Esperance*, and continued without touch of ought, but aire and water, till the 21 of *May*, when we espied land (to wit, a part of the maine of *Africa*), in some places very high, vnder the latitude of 31 deg. and halfe.

Wee coasted along till *June* 15, on which day, hauing very

faire weather, and the wind at Southeast, wee past the Cape itselfe so neere in sight, that we had been able with our pieces to have shot to land.

July 15, we fell with the land againe about *Rio de Sesto*, where we saw many negroes in their boates a fishing, whereof 2 came very neere vs, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talke or dealing with them.

The 22 of the same moneth, we came to *Sierra Leona*, and spent two dayes for watering in the mouth of *Tagoine*, and then put to sea againe; here also we had oisters, and plenty of lemmons, which gave vs good refreshing.

We found ourselues vnder the Tropic of *Cancer*, *August* 15, hauing the winde at Northeast, and we 50 leagues off from the neerest land.

The 22 day we were in the height of the Canaries. And the 26 of *Sept.* (which was Monday in the iust and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or countrie, but in our computation was the Lords day or Sonday) we safely with ioyfull minds and thankfull hearts to God, arrived at *Plimoth*, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent 2 yeares 10 moneths and some few odde daies beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discouering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange aduentures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and ouercomming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this neather globe, and passing round about the world, which we haue related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
Soli suorum Conservatori,
Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MR. THOMAS DOUGHTY.

Harl. MS., 6221, *fol.* 9, *vid. ante, p.* 62.

Theis thinges weare spokene and concluded vpon the Pellicane bye T. D.

Inp̄mis, that Thomas Doughtie, beinge requested thate he woulde tell the captayne: y^{t} ther wear some whiche made motyon to sett one shippe agaynst another, and soe to carye awaye the Pellycane, the sayde Thomas Doughtie refused to geve the captayne to vnderstand off yt. Affermynge that he should bethoughte to be ye cheiffe. And when y^{t} was saide bie Francys Fletcher, y^{t} he woulde tell the captayne of yt, the saide Thomas Doughtie desired hym verey earnestlie he would not: For, sayeth he, I shalbe suspected.

2. It̄, that the saide Thomas Doughtie and Thomas Cuttill, being often in secret conference, at the laste for the good lyking wch he had off Thomas Cuttill, if he found hym the same man afterwarde y^{t} then he did, he would p̄vide for hym 100^{li}, besydes his vyage when he came in England, to gooe to the sea withe, and doe thear what he thought meete to make retorne off their money wth advantage. And when he came home agayne bidde hym take noe care, for he would stand betwene hym and the danger, and would kepe the said Cuttill in the Temple frome my lord admirall and all offycers, to goe and come whatsoever the matter was.

Smithes wordes vpon the flye-bote.

3. When he came from the Pellican aborde ye flye botte, he sayde, thoughe Mr. Chester was his enimye, whom he would neuer forgiue, yett had he freindes wch had and would worke for hym: and y^t^ he had ꝑmysse to be M^r^ in an other and a better shippe.

4. Itm̃, that when he was talking wth Thomas Doughtie, Mr. Chester forbide hym to have any conference or receave anye thinge att his hande, whereto he answerede, y^t^ he could talke wth hym, as Smithe sayde, neyther would he refuse any thinge att the hand off soe goode a freind. For he the sayde Thomas, hade made a greater promise to him then geveinge off a brvshe, wch he saide he receyved at his handes, and he hoped it woulde be ꝑformed to the shame of his enimies shortlye, etc.

Certayne Speches vsed by Thomas Dowtye abourd of the Flybott, in the heringe of me, Jhon Sarocold, and others.

First, at his coming abord he declared y^t^ he was sent as a prysoner and as one suspected for a cõgerer and a treator to the generall, of the wch he sayd he wold purge himself in England affore their betters y^t^ dyd accuse him, iff lawe wold serue him, as he knewe it wold, and to their greate shame.

Secondly, he vsed greate talke what a great ayde he was to our generall at London, in furtheringe this o^r^ viage, bothe wth his money and travell vnto som̃ of the best in England, the wch had not soe easelye bene brought to pass, iff he had not withe his ffrends vsed great dyligens.

Thirdly, he had sertayne speches of the greate credit wch our generall receved in Iarland of the earle of essex, throwgh the sayd Thomas Dowtyes meanes, the ffull effect of all this talk I do not altogether remember.

Forthlye, their was sertayne talke one day affter dyner, concerninge suche as should be in any respect enemyes or tretors vnto ether the generall or ye viage, vnto ye wch it was my ffortune to answere, that o^{r} generall might do well to deale wth them as Maggallanus dyd; wch was to hange them vp to be a sample to the rest. To the wch Mr. Dowtye answered: Nay, soffte, his authorytie is none suche as Magallanus was; for, sayth he, I knowe his atorytye so well as he him selff dothe. And ffor hanginge, it is ffor doggs and not ffor men. This and suche lyke talke he vsed abord of ye Fly botte in my hearinge.

By me, John Sarocold.

Fyftlye, his talke vnto Mr. Chester was, y^{t} whereas Mr. Chester's auctoritye semed to be taken awaye by the M^{r}, y^{t} iff he wold be ruled by him, he wold geve his aucthorytye agayne, and wold put the sword into his hands to rule as he thought good, and y^{t} iff Mr. Chester wold be ruled, he wold make the companye to be redye one to cutt another's throte.

Syxtlye, the seyd Dowtye seyd that he knewe sertayne secretts of o^{r} generall, w^{ch}, saythe he, I will never vtter, allthough he should vse me very hardlye; and yet, sayd he, the vtteringe of them wold tuche him muche.

Francis Flecher.
Jhon Saracold.
Jhon Chester.
Emanuell Wattkyns.

Reports and Articles abord the Flybott vttered by Thomas Dowtye, as ffolowethe.

1. First, the sayd Thomas Dowtye beinge in the Flyebott called the Swan, dyd affirme y^t^ he was ye ffirst man that brought our Generall in credid wth ye earle of Essex.

Wittnes, Jhon Sorocold, Gregory Cary, Frances Flecher.

2. Item, that the sayd T. D. dyd knowe y^t^ the generall could not cast him off, from being equale wth him, ffor y^t^ he the sayd Thomas Dowtye was a gentleman, and had bene his equale both at home and abrode in Iarland and now at ye sea, especially ffor y^t^ the sayd T. had bene the speciall help of our sayd generall to pfferment.

Wittnes, Jhon Sorocold, Gregory Cary, Francis Flecher.

3. Item, that our generall did knowe and was wittnes y^t^ my lord tresurer of England sent for the sayd T. D. two or three tymes to be his secretorye, and he reffuced it to com to him.

Wittnes, Francis Flecher, Emanuell Wattkyns; Emanuell doth not remember y^t^ he sayd ye generall was wittnes.

4. Item, that he and our generall concluded in Iarland this viage to the valewe of 1000. marcks on Thomas Dowtyes part.

Wittnes, Jhon Chester, John Sorocold, Gregory Cary, F. Flecher.

5. Item, that the sayd Thomas Dowtye did promise to Henry Spindelay, the gunner, upon the Flybotte, that he wold, when he came into England, lend him 40^li^; and suche promises he

made to dyvers others, and affirmed y^t^ he wold make one of them cut another's throte.

Wittnes, John Chester, Gregory Cary, F. Flecher, E. Wattkyns.

6. It, that when o^r^ generall had opened the viage to som of the pryvey counsayle, whereine ye sayd T. D. was the ffirst man y^t^ brought o^r^ generall aquaynted, the promise was broken between them, that is, he wold not suffer the sayd Thomas Dowtye to venture so muche.

Wittnes, Jh. Chester, Gr. Cary, Jh. Soro., Emanuell Wattkyns, Francis Flecher.

7. It, that the sayd T. D. dyd know suche secretts of o^r^ generall as he wold be loth, and phapps ashamed, iff he should open them.

Wittnes all the sayd parsons.

8. It, that the generall was ashamed y^t^ he had delt so with the sayd Thomas Dowtye.

Wittnes all the sayd psons.

9. It, that the said T. D. was not to be charged w^t^ the least paringe of a nayle, and that the Captayne knewe it well; but that he disembled to pleace a sort of cogginge and lyinge knaves wch are about him.

Wittnes all the sayd psons.

Mr. John Wintter	Thomas Mowne
Edward Worrall	John Cowrttes
Leonard Vikerye	Richard Morgyn
Jhon Adley	Wm. Cowke
Luke Adden	John Cowke
Thomas Flowd	Thomas Blackeller
Wm. Marckombe	Jhon Brewer
Nycolas Anthony	Jhon Gribble

Gregory Raymon
Thomas Grige
Launce Garrat
Paskoe Goddy
Jhon Gallawaye
Richard Graye
Nycolas Mower
Thomas Ffloud
Thomas Marttyn
Christoffer Hayman
Wm. Haynes
Thomas Meeke
Symon Wood.

10. It, that whosoever dyd speke agaynst him heare, he wolde ..... in their mouthes when the sayd Thomas Dowghtye cam to England.

Wittnes all the sayd psons.

11. It, that he, the sayd T. D., had comendations ffrom ye Captayne by the Mr Mr. Gregory, signiffiinge yt the Captayne was glad that he was in helth, and yt the sayd T. D. should not be longe there: but that our sayd generall wold haue him agayne into his companye at the next harboror. Where, sayth the sayd T. D., the Mr. Gregory, wth all my enemyes, ffeare least I should come to as great auchoritye as I was in, and that I will plage them, wch I will do, lett them loke ffor it.

Wittnes all the sayd psons.

12. It, that the sayd T. D. brought our generall to the quenes pay.

Wittnes, Frances Flecher.

13. It, that our sayd generall ffled into Iarland, ffor that he durst not abyde in England, and that he dyd know it very well ffor his dealinges in Iarland.

Wittnes, Frances Flecher.

14. It, that our generall sent ffor the sayd T. D., to com to him to Mr. Hawkins his house, to charge him wt

his pmise mad in Iarland of 1000. marcks, wiche he promised.

Wittnes, Frances Flecher.

Theis words folowinge Thomas Dowghtye spake to me in Plymoth, in a captaynes garden, as also abourd the Pellican, and other places.

First, Thomas Doughtye pswaded me of James Lydye, what a necessarye man he was ffor the viage wch the sayd Thomas Doughtye and o^{r} captayne had in hand, and y^{t} they could not mysse James Lydye. Sweringe y^{t} this vyage had never goñ fforwards but ffor the sayd Thomas Doughtey: and the sayd T. Doughtye sayd that he was the ffirst y^{t} preffered our Captayne to the earle of Essex, and that the sayd T. D. dyd helpe o^{r} captayne to the quenes paye in Iarland: when o^{r} captayne was glad to com into Iarland ffor feare of my L. Admiral and the rest of the Counsayle, because of his Indyes viages: and when the earle of Essex was dede, that then the sayd T. Dowghty pffered o^{r} Captayne to his Mr Master Hatton, and y^{t} he the sayd T. D., and o^{r} captayne, confferred about this viage in Iarland to do it of themselves: so that T. D. should haue ventred 1000 pounds ffor his part. And y^{t} afterward o^{r} Captayne cam to London, and sought him the sayd T. D. at the Temple, and challendged him ffor his promise as towchinge this viage. And then the sayd T. D. consideringe wth himself y^{t} this viage was more meate for a prynce then a subiect, contenently went to M^{r}. Secretary Wallsingam and to M^{r}. Hatton, and lyke a true subiect brake the matter to them, and they brake it to the queene's maiestye, who had great goode lykinge of it, and cawsed o^{r} Captayne to be sent for and comanded this viage to goe

fforwards; and ioyned the sayd T. D. and o^r Captayne together and gave them as large a commission as ever went out of England, and that the whole adventure had passed vnder the hand and seale of the sayd T. D., wch was no smale matter. And that the quene and the counsaylle had layd a great charge vppon him, both that he delte so well w^t them in Iarland and discharged his dutye so honestlye in his service vnder the earle of Essex. And that our captayne was not to do any thing w^tout the assent of the sayd T. D., swering w^t great othes, that he the sayd T. D. was to do a great many of men good. And that he the said T. D. wold make choyse of xij y^t should carye the bell awaye, sweringe that I should be one, and that he the said T. D. wold make me the richest man of all my kyñ iff I wold be ruled by him, and y^t the said T. D. wold not give his adventure for 11000 pounds. These words he spake at Plymoth, and abord ye Pellican, and at ye Ile of Man.

In my cabyn abord the Pellycan, he the sayd T. D. cam to me, when their had certayne words passed betwixt Willyam Leage and me, wch T. D. sayd that the captayne was very muche offended w^t me, and y^t o^r captayne wold set me in the Bylbos; but he the said T. D. sayd he wold not suffer it, and that our Captayn should not offer it me; ffor I was one of them whom he the sayd T. D. loved and made account of, and bade me kepe my cabbyn two or three dayes, and that the captayne and I should be ffrends agayne, and byd me so ffarewell, and be ruled by him and he wold do me good. In the prise, the said T. D. sayd that he was sorye y^t he had not taken the viage in hand of himselff w^t o^r captayne, and that he was sorye that theire weare any more adventurers then himselff, sayinge, that he could haue don it of himselff well enough, and that the sayd T. D. could haue made the matter good enowgh at his cōminge home; and the sayd T. D. sayd y^t their woll Counsayle wold be corrupted w^t money. Yea the quenes maiestie her selff, wiche greved my conciens to here it.

More, John Dowtye tould me and Jhon Deane y^t^ he and his brother could counger as well as any men, and that they could rayse the devell, and make him to meate any man in the lykenes of a beare, a lyon, or a man in harnis.

More, John Dowtye tould me and Jhon Deane y^t^ he the sayd Jhon Dowtye could poyson as well as any man, and that he could poyson a man w^t^ a dyamond, that he should be twelve moneths affter or he should dye.

Words vttered by Thomas Dowghtye vnto our generall.

1. Ffirst, the sayd T. D. cam vnto our sayd generall as one requested or sent ffrom som or dyvers of the Companye, to knowe the sayd generalls consent, in that all men are mortall, and that the sayd our generall dyd enter into all action, who should suckcede our sayd generall iff God should do his will vpon him.

2. It, the sayd T. D. abourd the Pellican, sent word by Jhon Martyn and Gregorye to our generall these words; haue me comended to my generall, and tell him the tyme will com that he shall haue more nede of me then I shall haue of the viage.

3. It, the sayd T. D. makinge comparison vpon bourd the Flyebott sayd, that he was as honest as any in the companye, or as my lord Burlaye.

4. It, att the sayd instant ffollowinge the sayd T. D., in the heringe of dyvers of they company, affirmed that the

worst word of the mothe of his, the said Thomas, was of more then 3. of the others of our sayd generall.

Frances
Drake.

Ite, the sayd Thomas Dowghty affirmed to Thomas Blackley, Boteswayne of the Pellican, that he the sayd Thomas Dowtye had in this adventure 1500li, sayinge it was a pore gentlemans adventure.

APPENDIX II.

MEMORANDA, APPARENTLY RELATING TO THIS VOYAGE.

Harl. MS. 280, *fol.* 81.

The gould of Baldivia was in four forcers, three with half round covers, black lether, and bound over wth iron barrs. One of the four had a flatt cover, and was found vnder the stirege roome in a greate broade chest of meale.

At Arica, the 57 slabs of silver we found lying op$\bar{c}$ vppon ther wares, piled one over another three barrs hye.

At Lyma, the chest full of royalls of plate was flat, covered with black lether, and only locked; it was above ij foote longe, and $\frac{6}{2}$ and ten inches deepe; it was as full of them as as could be thrust.

The gould in the friers bark was all in round slabs, it was thought to bee french crowne gould.

Be it remembered, that at Agwatulca Drake left his Portingall pilate on land, who was taken by the Spanyards and caryed to Mexico, where hee was racked to make him confes, and from Mexico he was conueyed into Spayne in the indias flette in anno 1582. This portingall was taken at the Ile of St. Yago, one of the Iles of the Cape de Vert, on the coast of Gwynea, out of a ship of St. Mary Port of Portingall,

which Drake called the Prize. The setting this mā on shore should have bin recited in the latter end of the first leafe at this marck ☞ the first side thereof, for the poor man very unwilling to have bin lefft to ye Spaniard for a praye.

M^d.^ that betwene Coquimbo and Payta Drake went on land, and founde there a Spaniard and an Indian boy, and found with him eight Indish sheepe ladē with vij or eight 100^li^ weight of fine silver, and brought both the sheep and silver away wth him on boorde, and he eate the sheepe, but hee brought home the silver. These sheep had long necks like camells, and are very great, and will bere eche of them 150^li^ weight if they be loded. They are smooth bodyed, somewhat like a stag in body.

M^d.^ that Drake excomvnicated Fletcher shortly after y^t^ they were coṁe of the rock in this mañ, viz., hee cavsed him to bee made fast by one of the leggs wth a . . . . and a staple knocked fast into the hatches in the forecastell of his ship. He called all the company together, and then put a . . . . . lock about one of his legs, and Drake sytting cros legged on a chest, and a peire of pantoffles in his hand, hee said, Frances Fletcher, I doo heere excoṁvnicate the out of ye Church of God, and from all the benefites and graces therof, and I denounce the to the divell and all his angells; and then he charged him vppon payne of death not once to coṁe before the mast, for if hee did, he sware hee should be hanged; and Drake cawsed a posy to be written and boṅd about Fletchers arme, with chardge that if hee tooke it of hee should then be hanged. The poes was, Frances fletcher, ye falsest knave that liveth.

Partyes that were privey to this voyadge.

John Chester.	Tom Blacweller.
Mr. Elyot.	Willm̄ Hawkins.
Mr. Foskue.	Willm̄ Legge.
Mr. Hood.	But especially John Marten.

And to examine Marten, Legg, and Cottell, how mooch Sr Francis brought going in one yeere, to ye value of 80000^li^, as they themselves caste it vpp.

‖ Banda, Trenate, Jaua Mayor, Jaua Minor, Matan, where Magelan was slayne, Salamia, Burro, halochina, Lucopimbo, Talimpuca, Madura, Bornea, Banuba, Talampina, Mindanao, Tabrobana, Samatra, Seylan, neere Calecut, and Comanor.

M^d.^ to enquire where Drake fell out wth Fletcher, and how long hee ware his bracelett wth this posey: frances fletcher ye falsest knave y^t^ liveth; where it was put on, and wher it was taken of againe.

Trenate, Tidore, Francisca alias ye Ile of Crabs, Crabiland, Bornea, then on the rock, then to Jaua.

APPENDIX III.

SHORT ABSTRACT OF THE PRESENT VOYAGE, IN HAND-WRITING OF THE TIME.

A discourse of Sir Francis Drakes iorney and exploytes after hee had past ye Straytes of Megellan into Mare de Sur, and throughe the rest of his voyadge afterward till hee arived in England. 1580 *anno.*

When Frances Drake had passed ye straytes of Magellan, the first land hee fell wth was an Iland named Mocha, wher hee came to an anckor, and hoysing out his bote, hee wth ten of his company went on shore, thincking ther to have taken in fresh water. Two of the company going far into the Iland were intercepted and cut of by the Indians that inhabite the Iland, who, as sone as the saw our men com̄ to ancker, thought they would come on land (as they did indeede), and layd an ambush of about 100. Indians; and whē our boate was fast on ground and all the men gone on land, the ambush brake out and set upon them, and before they could recover their bote and get her on flote, they hurt all our men very sore with theire arrowes. Their names which went on shore were these foloing: Frances Drake, John Bruer, John Marten, Thomas Flud, Tom Bruer, great Nele a dane, littell Nele a fleming, John Gripe, John Mariner, Gregory Rayment, and Diego a black Moore, wch was

Drakes man; of which company ij. namely Tom Brwer and Tom Flud were intercepted by the Indians and there lost, and greate Nele ye Dane, their guner, and Diego ye black More died of their wonds, the rest escaped their wonds and were cured. They stayed heere but one day, but set sayle toward ye coast of Chile, wher ariving they met with an Indian in a canoa nere the shore, who thincking them to have bin Spaniards, tould them that behind thē, at a place called St. Yago, there was a Spanish schip, for wch good nves they gave him divers trifles. The Indian being ioyfull therof went on shore and brought them ij. sheepe and a small quantyty of fish, and so they returned back againe to St. Yago to seeke the Spanish ship (for they had overshot ye place before they were ware); and when they came thither, they found the same ship and in her 3 Negros and viij. Spaniards; they of the ship thincking Drakes to have bin Spaniards, welcomed them with a drum, and made redy a great buttiro of wyne of Chile to have made them drinck; but when Drakes men were entred, one of them, whose name was Tom Moone, strake ye Spanish pilate wth his fist of the face, saying, Abassho Pirra, wch is to say in English, Go downe, dogg, and then the poore Spaniards being sore afrayde went downe into the hould of the ship, all saving one of them, who leping out at the stern of the ship swam on shore, and gave warning to them of the towne of their cōming. When Drake had taken this ship and stowed the men vnder hatches, hee tooke her bote and his owne boote and manned them both wth his men, and went to set vpon the towne of S. Yago, having not past viij. or ix. small houses, and cōming on shore, hee found all the people fled, and rifled their howses, and brake open a warehowse, wherein he found certen wine of Chile, wch he brought wth him into his ship: also hee found there a chappell, wch he rifled and tooke from thence a chalice of silv^r^ and twoo cruets of silver ... and the altar cloth, all wch hee tooke away with him and brought them on boord,

and gave all the spoyle of that chappell to Mr. Fletcher, his precher, at his cōming on boorde, and then hee set all the men of the Spanish ship on shore, saving one John Grego, a greeke borne, whom hee tooke with him to be his pilate to bring him into the haven of Lyma. This spanish ship Drake tooke along with him and rifled her, and found in her great store of wine of Chile, and about 400li waight of gould of Baldivia, wch is a citty, and lyeth about 4 leges from St. Yago vp into the lande, from whence cometh the best gould of all Perw. This ships name was the Grande Capitayne. So hee carying ye Grand Capitayne along wth him, arived at a place called Coquimbo, where thincking to have watered, hee sent 14 of his men on land to fetch water. But they had not long arived ere there came toward them to have intercepted them 300 horsmē and 200 foote men, Spanyards, very bravely furnished, whereby Drake's men were faine to wade into the sea a goode space vnto a rock and lay vnderneath the side therof from the spaniard; but one of their men being on that side of the rock next the Spaniard, thought to have shot at the Spaniards, and a Spanish horsman shot him through the hed with his peece and slue him; and they shot divers peeces at Drakes men yt lay vnder the rock, but they could not com at them. Then at length the bote came on shore vnder the rock and fet them on boorde, and so saved them from that danger. When they were gone on boord, the spaniards waded to the rock and fet Drakes man on shore and cut out his hart, and cut of his hed and stoock it vppon a speres poynt and caried it away before them. These spaniards were of a citty called Lacerona, a legwe distant from Coquimbo. When they were departed, Drake came wth his boate on shore and buried his mans body without a head, and so made saile to depart, and at his depture the Spaniards came to the sea side with a flag of truse, but Drake would trust none of them, but set sayle and bent his course towards a place called Arica, where he found in the

haven iij small barcks, and rifling them, he found in one of thē 57 slabs of fine silver weing about 20li weight eche of them. These slabs were about the bignes of a brick batt eche one of them, and one of ye two other barks was set on fire by one Fuller and one Tom Marcks, and so burned to the very water. There were not in those iij barcks one prson, for they mistrusting no theves were all gone on shore. In this towne of Arica were about 20 howses, which Drake would have set vppon if hee had had more company with him, but wanting company of pirates he depted hence, having still with him the Grand Capitaine of St. Yago; but within one day after he was gone from this haven of Arica, he cast of the Grand Capitaine, clapping her helme fast on the lee and let her drive to seaward without any creature in her. From hence hee sayled toward Lyma, and by the waye hee mett a small bark, and in her he fond good store of lynen cloth, whereof hee tooke but small quantity, and so let her depart, still foloing on his course toward Lyma, where he arived and entred the haven, and found therin about 12 sayle of ships lying fast mored at anckor, and thincking thēselves safe from all pirates, they had caried all theire sayles on shore. These ships he rifled, and then found in one of them a chest full of royalls of plate, wch he brought away with him. He found also in the same ship lynen cloth and silks, whereof hee took good store away to sarve his owne turne; and heere hee had nwes of the Cacafoga, wch was gone towards Payta, after whom he bent his course. At his departure from the haven of Lyma he cut all the cables of the ships there and let them drive to seaward, and so made speed toward Payta, thincking there to have founde the Cacafoga, but she was gone before he arived there toward Panama, whom he still followed amayne, but betwene Payta and Cape St. Francs hee met with a barck laden with ropes and tackell for shipps. This ship hee rifled, and found in her about 80li weight of gould, and he tooke out of her greate quantyty of ropes to store his own ship, and so

let her go. The owner of this ship was a frier. He found also in her a greate crucifix of goulde, and certaine emeralds neere as longe as a mans finger. From this robbery following still after the Cacafoga, hee overtooke her at Cape St. Frances, whom hee had long wisshed for. In his iorney he ꝑmised y^{t} whosoever should overtake her should haue his cheine of gould for his labour. This did John Drake descry on St. Davids day, being the first of March, about viij. of the clock in ye afternone, and boorded her about v. of the clock; and in the boording of her hee shot downe her misen mast, and so entred her, and found in her about 80^{li} weight of gould, and 13. chests full of royalls of plate, and so mooch silver as did ballas the Goulden Hinde. In her returne into England this ship hee caried with him 3. or 4. dayes, and then hee vnladed her and let her departe; the Pylats name was Don Francisco, who had two cupps of silver gilt clene over, to whom Drake said at his departure as followeth: Seignior Pilate, you have ij. cupps and I must needes have one of them, wch the Pilate yeelded vnto willingly, because he could not chuse. Whē Don Francisco the Spanish pilate depted frō Drake hee said, Captaine, our ship shalbe called no more the Cacafoga but the Cacaplata, and your ship shalbe called the Cacafo, whereat Drake and his men laughed hartely and so let the Spaniards depart. From hence sayling toward the West hee met wth a ship, and the owner thereof, a spanish Gentileman, in her; wch ship was ladē with lynen cloth and fine China silks, and there were also in her diuers chests full of fine erthen disshes, very finely wrought, of fine white erth brought by the Spanyards from the countrey of Chyna, wch disshes the Spanyards greatly esteme. Of these dishes Drake tooke four chests full from them, as also about
packs of fine lynen cloth and good store of taffata and other fine silks. The owner of this ship having very costly apparell, ernestly entreated Drake and besought him not to take away from him his apparell, wch he ꝑmised not to doo, and the

gentlemā gave him a falcon of gold wth a greate emerald in the brest thereof for his favorable dealing wth him. Drake tooke out of this ship a pilate to cary him into the haven of Gwatulco, and also a ꝑper negro wench called Maria, wch was afterward gotten with child between the captaine and his men pirats, and sett on a small iland to take her adventure as shalbe hereafter shewed. Drake having out of this ship taken his pilate sayled to Aguatulca, and suddenly entred the haven, the townsmen thincking him to bee a Spanyard; and ꝑsently hee hoysed out his boate and set about 20. men on land, for he knew by his pilate that there were not above xvij. Spaniards in the towne; and as sone as Drakes men arived on lande, being all very well furnisshed, they went to the towne howse, where they found a iudge sitting in iudgem^t^, being associate wth ij. other officers, vppon three negrose y^t^ had cōspird the burning of the towne, and Drake tooke the prisoners and the iudges and brought them all on shipboord together, and set one of the prisoners, who was willing to stay in the contry, on lande, who fled into the woods to save himselfe; but the other twoo negrose hee kept still wth him a greate space. When Drake had the three principall Spaniards of the towne, hee cawsed the cheefe iudge to write his ꝛre into ye towne to comand all the townsmen to avoyd, that he might safely water there, and also take the spoyle of the towne, wch the Spanyards did ꝑsently; and then Drakes men rifled ye towne, and they found in one howse a great pott, of the quantety of a bushell full of royals of plate, wch they brought away on boord with them; and heere one of Drakes men, whose name was Tom Moone, tooke a Spanish gentleman as he was flyinge out of the towne, and riflinge him hee found a cheine of gould about him, wch Moone took from him, and what ells y^t^ hee had woorth the taking, and so let him go; and here Drake watered his ship and departed, sayling northwards till he came to 48. gr. of the septentrionall latitud, still finding a very lardge sea trending

toward the north, but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite, hee turned back againe, still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to 44. gr., and thē hee found a harborow for his ship, where he groūded his ship to trim her; and heere came downe vnto them many of ye contrey people while they wer graving of their ship and had conference wth them by synes. In this place Drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vj^d^, wch the countrey people woorshipped as if it had bin God; also hee nayled vppon this post a plate of lead, and scratched therein the Queenes name. And when they had graved and watred theire ship, in the latter ende of August they set sayle, and bent their course S.S.W. and had not the sight of land againe till ye latter ende of November, at wch time they had sight of one of the Iles of Molucca, called Trenate, where they tooke in about vj. toon of cloves, and shortly after they were departed hence they saw a small Iland covered with wood, wherof they throughly fornished their ship. At theire departure Drake left behinde him vppon this Iland the twoo negrose wch hee tooke at Agwatalca, and likewise the negro wench Maria, shee being gotten with childe in the ship, and now being very great, was left heere on this Iland, wch Drake named the Ile Francisca after the name of one of the ij negrose; and here Drake quareled with Will Legg, taking occasion by that meanes to take from him a wedge of gould, weying 29 $\frac{z}{5}$; but becawse hee would make somē shew of honest deling, he called for a chisell, and gave the gould a marck, and said he would restore it to him agayne at his arivall in England, or ells hee would give to Legges wife the valwe therof at his arivall in England. Thus keeping his course westerly till the eight of January at night, 1579, they ron suddenly on a rock, where they stuck fast from viij. of the clock at night till iiij. the next day in the after noone, they being out of all hope of getting of; but having in the mene space lighted their ship

of 3. toone of cloves and ij. peeces of ordnance, and certeine mele and beanes, they hoysed all the sayles in their ship. The wind, wch before came from the starboord side, now changing to the larboord side, blwe a good gale and drove their ship of the rock on flote againe, wherof they were not a littell ioyfull; but while they stoock fast on this rock, thincking there [to] have all perisshed, Mr. Fletcher, their minister, made them a sermon, and they receved the comvnion all together, and then every theefe reconciled him selfe to his fello theefe and so yelded themselves to death, thincking it an vnpossible thing to escape the p̄sent danger. And then as is afore said, they were drawne of the rock afloate againe; from whence continuwinge theire course still west, they came to the Ile of Java, where the contrey people were clothed in lynen garments like smocks, of whome they had in trafick vij. or viij. toon of rice, and also divers Java daggers and divers other things, as plantanes, cocus, and great canes, and very good fresh water, and many sugar canes, from whence they bent their course S.W. toward the Cape of bona speranza, where, having spent their water, they haled into a great bay to the west of Cape bona speranza, they were almost embayed; and having spent long tyme and finding no water, they were forced to hale out to seaward agayne, being gretly distressed for water, and had bin in danger of perishing by want thereof, but that they saved vj. or vij. toon of rayne water, wch saved the most part of theire lives; and keping on their course toward the northwest they fell wth rio Grand, a river on the coast of Gwinea, where they went on land and had great store of lymons and other fruits, and heere they saw iij. elefants and hard the noyse of divers other bests, but saw them not. Here they watered and set sayle, bending their course toward ye norwest and n.n.w.; and then they found the wynde sutherly till they came to the lyne, and then they found the winde

n.e. and n.e. and by est, they shaping their course n.n.w. and n. and b. w. till they came to the height of Sorias, whence they found the winde westerly, which brought them home into England.

APPENDIX IV.

FOR FRANCIS DRAKE.

Anno dñi 1577.

[*Harl. MS.*, 540, *fol.* 93.]

THE xv. of Novembar in the yere above writen Francys Drake, John Winter, and Thomas Doughty, as eqwall companyons and frindly gentlemen w^t^ a fleett of fyve ships and Shipps. to the nombar of 164 men gentlemen and saylers departed Plimouthe, gyvynge oute his pretendyd voyage for Alexandria, and had for that place made wages with his men, but the wynd falyng contrary, he was forceblye the next morninge put in to Falmouth haven in Cornewell, where suche and so terryble a tempest toke vs as no man then lyvyng had ever sene the lyke, and was indede so vehement that all owr ships had bene lyke to have gone to wracke, but yet this storme ceased not without the torninge to owr great detryment and hyndrance of our pretended voyadge; for first owr admyrall which was the *Pellycane*, for her farder savegard Pelicane. had hir mast cutt ovar borde, the *Marygolde* was not onely Marigold. dryven a shore and merveylouselye by meanes thereof brused, but had also hir mast cut over borde, for the repayrenge of whiche domages we were forced to repayre agayne to Plymouthe, where Mastar Drake began to fall on great dislyke, and found occasyon of qwarell with one James Stydye, who had taken very greate paynes as well in seinge the ships provisyon of vyctuales to be well and swete saved, as also every thinge to be dwely and indyferently placed

accordingly as suche his voyage mowght require; and without havynge regarde to thes his paynes, or to the sufficienty of the man in respecte of his servise everywaye, he dismissed and altogether acquited hym of the voyage.

Thus the xiij. of December we agayne departyd Plymouth, and makynge owr course sowthwards we fell the xxv. day of Decembar with Cape Cantyne on the coaste of Barbarye, the whiche coastinge alonge the xxvij. day of Decembar we found an Iland called Moghador lyenge one myle distaunt from the mayne; betwene the mayne and this sayde Iland we found to be a very good and safe harborowe and voyde of any feare. On this Iland owr generall (so we now termed hym) erected a pinnes, where of he browght owt of England withe hym fowre alredy framed.

While thes things were thus a handelynge it chaunsed that there cam to the watar syde some of the inhabitaunts of the contry shewing out theyre flags of truyse, whiche sene of owr generall, he sent his shipe boate ashore to know what they would: they willynge to come a borde, owr men lefte there one man of owrs for pledge and brought ij. of them aborde, who by synes showyd owr generall that the next day thoy wolde brynge hym some provysyon, as shepe and capons and hens and such lyke; so at this tyme owr generall bestowynge on them some lynnen clothes and shoes and a javelyne, the whiche they gratefully takynge departed for that tyme, and the next morrowe fayled not in lyke maner to come agayne to the watars syde; owr generall agayne sent his boate, where one of owr men leapinge ovar rayshely a shore and offeringe frendly to imbrace them, they set vyolent hands on hym offeringe a daggar to his throte yf he made resistaunce, and so layenge hym on a horse caryed hym awaye.

Owr pinnes beynge finished we departed hence the last of Decembar, and coasting alonge the shoare, we dyd descrye (not contrary to owr expectacion) certayn Canters which are spanishe fishermen, to the whiche we gave chase and toke thre

of them, then costinge still alonge we toke iij. Carvells. The xvij. of January we aryved at Cape blanke, where we founde a shippe rydinge at anchore within the Cape, but forsaken of all her men excepte ij. very symple marinars; this shipe we caryed farder into the harborowe with vs; here we remayned fowre dayes, in the whiche tyme, by the meanes and procurement of Mastar Thomas Dowghtye, who was alwayes carefull in that respecte and toke greate paynes in that behalfe, did here trayne his men in warlyke order, for that they myght not be vnskylfull in tyme of neade, and shewynge hym selfe not ygnoraunt, but as a good sowldior wayenge the inconvenyence that want of good experyence dyd evar bringe. Here havynge taken suche necesaryes as we wantyd, and thes pore fissher men wer able to yelde vs, and havynge here lefte amongst these poore fisshers owr lytle barke called the *benedicte* we toke with vs one of theyr boates the whiche they call Canters, beinge a vessell of xl. tonne or there abowtes, and thes things finyshed we departed of the harborowe, the xxij of Januarye, carienge a longe with vs one Portyngale Carevell that was bound to the Ilands of Cape de Verde for salte, whereof there was greate store made in one of those Ilands, the mastar or pylot of whiche shipe dyd advertyce owr Generall that in one of those Ilands, as namely on the Iland of Mayowe, there was greate store of dryed Caberytas, the which a few inhabytaunts that there were resydent dyd yerelye make reddye for suche the Kynges ships as dyd there touche, beinge bound for his contrye of Brasell or els where.

3 fisher men and 3 Carvells taken. fol. 94. A ship taken. bark benedicte.

With this Iland we fell the xxvij of Januarye, but the inhabytaunts would not in any wyse trafficke with vs, as thereof forbyden by theyr Kyngs edycte and lawe of theyr contrye, yet the next daye, owr Generall sent to vewe the Iland and the lykelyhods that myght be of provysyon of vyctuales, well towards lxx men, vnder the conducte and goverment of Mastar Wyntar and Mastar Thomas Dowghtye who alwaye fol. 94 b.

shewed hym selfe not unskylfull in suche affayres. Thus marchynge towards the chefe place of habytacion in this Iland, (as by the portyngall we were informed), havynge traveled to the mountenance of thre myles and aryvynge there some whate before the day-breke, we arested owr selves to se daye before vs, which apperinge we founde the inhabitants to be departed or fled.

We found this place by meanes it was manured, to be more frutefull then thothar parte. Here we gave owr selves a lytle refection as by very rype and swete grapes that the frutefulnes of the erthe at this season of the yere yeldes vs, we also had here a kynd of frute called Coonis, the whiche for that it is not comonly knowne to us in England, I have thowght good to make relation of. The tree on which it groweth beareth no leaves nor bowghes, but at the very toppe the frute groweth in clustars hard at the topp of the steme of the tree as bygg every severall frute as a mans heade, but hevynge taken of the vttermoste barke, the whiche you shall fynde to be very full of strings or synowes as I may terme them, yow shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantite of lycore a pinte comonly or some a qwarte, and some lesse; with in that shell, of the thiknes of halfe an ynche good, yow shall have a kynd of harde substance, and very white, no les good and swete then almondes; within that agayne a certayne clere lycowr, whiche beynge dronken, you shall not only finde very delycate and swete, but moaste comfortable and cordyall. Then marching fardar on we sawe greate store of Caberytas alyve, the which were so chased by the inhabitants, that we cowlde do no good towards owr provysyon, but yet by the way I must tell yow that they had layde oute as it were to stope owr mowths withall certayne olde dryed Caberytas, which for the lothesomnes of, as also for the small qwantyte, we made small accompte of.

Grapes ripe in January.

fol. 95a.

Thus vppon owr returne the Generall determyned to departe this Iland, the which without longar abode then the nyght

folowynge he went thrughe withall and so the xxx. of Januarye we fell with one othar of those Iland called S. Jago, by the which as we passed, but farr ynowghe of theyr daynger, they shot at vs thre peces, all which fell shorte of vs, but before this Iland we found vndar sayle ij. shipps, to the one of which we gave chase, ye and in the ende borded hir with his shipe boate without any resistaunce, they yelded. This good price dyd yelde good store of drinke and especially to them that wolde thrwghly take it, who at no tyme wantyd, thowghe those as were honestly mynded were fayne to watche the rayne dropps when no intreatie woulde serve to have thirste satisfyed by any othar meanes. But here our Generall shewyd hym selfe not so rygorowse as every man thowght he would, neyther dyd he hurte or plange the pore men of theyr bodyes (thowghe he a litle pynched them by the p̃se) ne yet dyd he altogethar disfurnishe them of pryncipall necesaryes, for first retayninge with hym the portyngall pilote, he gave to the rest of the companye his *pinnis*, with a but of wyne and some victuals and theyr weringe clothes, and so let them to departe. But sure they toke no daye for payment, for that I thinke theyre hole stocke rested in owr hands.

S. Jago.

A prise taken.

pinis.

fol. 95 b.

Now Mastar Drake havynge here somewhat satisfyed his eye with the viewe of these co̅odities, he co̅ytted the custody and well kepynge of this price vnto Mas᷑ Thomas Dowghty as his good and especiall friend, prayenge hym in any case to se good ordar kept, and who so shuld be the breaker there of to gyve hym to vndarstond of any suche without exception of any. It thus chaunsed that Master Drake had a brothar (not the wysest man in Christendom) who he put into this sayde price, as also dyvers othars. This Thomas Drake, as one more gredy of praie then covetous of honestie or credite, offeryd hym selfe the first and onely man to breake the Generall hie brothars co̅aundement, for he, contrary to this streyght phibicyon, dyd not onely breake open a chest, but dyd dyve sodeynly into the same, that Mastar Dowghty

knew not how to dyscharge hym selfe agaynst the Generall but by revelynge it vnto hym; yet first Mastar Dowghty called Thomas Drake vnto hym and shewyd hym his greate follye in this behalfe, who yeldynge vnto hys faulte prayde Mastar Dowghtye to be good vnto hym and kepe it from the Generall; but to be brefe, he tolde hym he could not kepe it, but he would declare it with what favour he might. So at the Generalls next comynge aborde the price, Mastar Dowghty opened the same vnto hym, who presently fallynge into some rages, not withoute some greate othes, semed to wondar what Thomas Dowghty shuld meane to touche his brothar, and dyd as it were assure hym selfe that he had some fardar meanynge in this, and that he ment to shotte at
fol. 96. his credite, and he would not, nor could not (by Gods lyfe as he sware) suffer it. From this tyme forthe grudges dyd seme to growe betwene them from day to day, to no small admyration of the wysest of the company, althowghe some envyed his formar favour and friendshipe with the Geuerall, and some, I thinke, dowghtynge that his capacitie would reche to farr to the augmentynge his credite in his contrye. Then was Mastar Dowghtye put agayne into the Pellycane; thes grudges, althowghe they had not long rested, yet were they growen to greater extremyties, suche and so greate as a man of any judgement would veryly thinke that his love towards hym in England was more in brave words then harty good will or frindly love.

But well it so fell out that of Mastar Dowghtyes parte greate submyssyon must be made, not onely of hym selfe, but by frynds; in consyderation where of, Mastar leonard Vycary, a gentleman, and Mastar Dowghtyes very friend, gave greatly to parswade with hym for and in the behalfe of Mastar Dowghty, and prayenge hym to be good vnto hym, which in the end he yelded vnto, and to the outeward showe forgave and semed to forgett all that had passed whatsoevar, and with this he let hym rest still in the Pellicane, thowght by the com-

pany to have the authoritie of capitayne from Drake. But now I will rest to showe how he dayly sowght matar agaynste Mastar Dowghtye, sekynge at every mans hands what they could invey agaynst hym.

Thus havynge dispacht away the sayd Portyngals we drewe towards the lyne, where we were becalmd the space of thre wekes, but yet subiecte to dyvars great stormes, terible lyghtening and with thundar, and here we had great store of fishe, as dolphens and bonytes and othar greate and myghty fishes, we fol. 96 b. also found here flyenge fishes in great aboundance, which by the sharpe and eger chasynge of the dolphens and bonytes, and, as it were, to avoyde a greate birde that semed to watche to pray on hir above the watar, beinge so put vp by those fishes, dyd dyvers tymes fall into our shipe, where she could not ryse agayne, for want of moysture to hir wyngs, for hir wyngs once beinge dry she cane no longar flye. This fishe is as bigge as a pilchard, hir wyngs of the length of hir body.

Havynge thus in the begyninge of Februarye put of the Iland of Cape de Verde, we had not the syght agayne of any land vntill the vi. of Aprill that we fell with the coste of Brazylle. 1578. But in this meane season you shall vnderstonde what befell, Mastar Drake nevar leavynge to seke and force vpon Mastar Dowghtie, found in the end this oportunytye to dysgrade hym, whithar of purpose or his owne voluntarye: it chanced John Bruer, the trumpet, to goo aborde the Pelycane, where, for that he had bene longe absent, the company offered hym a Cobbey, amonge the whiche Mastar Dowghty puttynge in his hand, said fellowe John, you shall have in my hand, althowghe it be but lyght amongest the rest, and so laynge his hond on his buttoke, which perceyved of John trumpet, he began to swere wounds and blud to ye company to let hym lose, for they are not all (qd he) the Generales frinds that be here, and with that turned hym to Mastar Dowghty and sayde vnto hym (as hym selfe presently aftar tolde me in the price), Gods wounds, Dowghty, what doste thow meane to

vse this familiaritie with me, consyderynge thou art not the Generals frinde? who answered hym: What, fellow John, what moves you to this and to vse these words to me, that
fol. 97. am as good and sure a frind to my good Generall as any in this flete, and I defye hym that shall saye the contrarye? but is the mattar thus, why yet, fellow John, I pray the lett me lyve vntill I come into England? Thus John Bruer, comynge agayne presently aboarde the price, had not talkt any longe tyme with the Generall, but the boate went aborde and rested not, but presently browght Mastar Dowghty to the prises syde, Mastar Drake beinge in the mydst of service, who herynge the boate at the shipe syde, stode vp, and Mastar Dowghty offering to take holde of the shipe to have entered, qd. the Generall: Staye there, Thomas Dowghty, for I must send you to an othar place; and with that cōmaunded the marynars to rowe hym aborde the fleeboate, sayenge vnto hym it was a place more fit for hym then that from whence he came. But Mastar Dowghty, althowghe he craved to speke with the Generall could not be permitted, neyther would he here hym.

Thus, as I afore sayde, the vi. of Aprill we fell with the coaste of Brasyle; the vij. day, in a myghty greate storme, bothe of
ye Canter or Xpofere. lighteninge, rayne, and thundar, we lost the *Canter*, now named the *Xpofere* [i.e., Christopher]; but the xj. day aftar, by our Generals greate care and dyspersynge, his ships found hir agayne, by means especially that the mastar coasted always by the shoare and keping it in syght. Here where we found owr Canter, owr Generall named this Cape, Cape Joie: here every shipe toke in some watar. Then we wayed ancker and rann somewhat fordar, and harbored owr selvs betwene a rokke and the mayne, where, by meanes of the rokk that brake the foarce of the sea, we ryde very safe. Vpon this rocke we kylde some seyls for owr provysyon, but not very many, for that this place had not the multitude as aftarwards we found. Here
fol. 97 b. we entered the greate ryvar of freshe watar called the ryvar

of Plat, and ran into 5. 4. and 3. fadome and halfe of freshe watar, where we fild in freshe watar by the ships syde; for that owr Generall could find here no harborowe as he expected, he bare owt agayne to sea.

Here we lost owr flee boate, in the whiche was Mastar Thomas Dowghtye, in all whose absens owr Generall nevar ceased to invey agaynst, terminge hym a coniurer and witche, and, at eny tyme when we had any fowle wethar, he would say that Thomas Dowghty was the occasyoner thereof, and wolde say that it came out of Tom Dowghtys capcase, and wold avouch the same with greate othes; whiche he at no tyme scanted, they cost hym so lytle. The xij. of May owr Generall went a shoare in the Elizabethes boate, where suche a sodayne storme and tempest, with a marveylows thicke fogge toke hym, that yf the Marygold had not rune into the shore and taken vpp the boate, it had bene very lyke, without the greate provydence of God, that they had there perished; for they had loste the syght of the ships, and were dryven to leeward by meanes of the great storme. This land owr Generall named the Cape of good hope, and dothe lye in 47—4—from the equinoctiall to the southewards, and here in this great tempest the price was forced to wey anker and beare it out to sea, for her savegarde, and were not able agayne to recover the fleete. Thus the price departed the 13. of May, and the next day the rest of the ships wayed, the *Marygold* still continuynge within the Cape with the Elizabethes boate.

Here our Generall had syght of some of the contry people, who were naked, savynge a certayne losse mantle made of skynns about them, and rowles aboute theyr heads. To thes our Generall made shewe of truce; as by holdynge vp a whit flagge, and they with theyr heds and bodyes made certayne signes and gesturs as yf they ment friendeshipe, and thus there was a kynde of parley betwene them, but one could not vnderstond an othar, neythar would they come near owr men. The next daye aftar this owr Generall went agayne a shore the same fol. 98.

place, where althowghe he had not the syght of any men, yet found he there certayne fowles newly kylled and layde in a heape as of purpose for vs, as ostreges, and some sea fowles; all whiche owr Generall browght aborde with hym, and then wayed and cam to sea, where he mett with all the rest of the fleete, excepte the price. Owr Generall hear dispersed his shipps, some for the sekynge agayne of the price, and some into the shoare for to fynd harborow; and it so chansed as he hym selfe was sekynge the price the xvij. of Maye, he casually had syght of the flee bote, the *Marigold* and *Cantor* gyvynge vs to vnderstand of a saffe harborowe that they had found: we bore all into the same the xviij. of May, being Whitsonday.

But here may not be forgotten, how hardly Mastar Thomas Dowghtye and some othar gentlemen were delt with, all in this theyr absens, by a sorte of badd and envyous people, as saylers and such lyke, but specyally Mastar Dowghty, at whose discredit they dyd nevar leave to shotte, at that the Generall dyd always terme his very good frynds; for there the mastar put hym selfe from the mease of Mast^{r} Dowghty and othar gentlemen, and dyd syt hymselfe amongst saylers, nothing at all sparinge, but rathar augmentynge his owne dyet; but how symply these gentlemen dyd fare, there is some come home (that, except they will deny theyr owne words) can make relation there of. Mastar Dowghty, seinge hymselfe and one Mastar Chestar,
fol. 98 b. that Drake had made captayne of the flee boate, so yll vsed, told hym: I marvayle, Mastar Chestar, that yow will take it at his hands to be thus vsed, cōsyderinge yow were here aucthorised by the Generall; and withe the same he cam to the mastar, and told hym that he dyd vse to muche partialitie, consyderinge the extremytie that for want of victuales they were lyke to fall into, and it was agaynst reason that he and his mates shulde be so plentifully fedd and othars to be at poynte to starve. The mastar begeninge hereat to storme, sware that suche rascales as he was shuld be glade

to eate the tholes when he wolde have it. Mastar Dowghty answered hym agayne, that reason wolde will that he shuld be vsed as well as othar men, consyderynge his adventure. Thou an adventure here? qd. the mastar, I will not gyve a poynt for the nor thye aventure, and when thow comest home to inioye any aventure I will be hanged (as I remembar he hathe kepte promise). Then in multiplienge some fardar wordes, and, as I hard, a blowe or twayne had past betwene them, and conseqvently the mastar tolde hym, thow (qd. he) wilt thow have victualles, thow shalt be glade, yf we do not mete with the Generall, the rathar to eate..... Then Mastar Dowghty turnynge to Mastar Chestar sayd vnto hym, Mastar Chestar, let vs not be thus vsed at thes knaves hands, lose nothinge of that aucthoritie that the Generall hathe cōmytted vnto yow, yf yow wyll we wyll put the sworde agayne into yowr hands, and yow shall have the governement. This can I well avouche to be true, for there were two or three sworne to thesse articles, as some the especiall mattar that the had be out of his head *for.* fol. 99. q?

Well here, ere he departed this forsayde harbour, he had the flee boate close aboard the Pelicane, and there toke all his provysyons of victuall and what els there was forthe of hir, and halynge hir aland set fire in hir, and so brent hir to save his ire stuffe; whiche beinge adoynge, ther came downe of the contrye certayne of the people naked, excepte aboute theyr waste a certayne skyne of some beaste with fure or heare, and all they had also somewhat wrethed abowte theyr heades, they had also theyr faces paynted of dyvars colours, and some had on theyr heades the symylitude of hornes, every man his bowe, which was of an ell of lengthe, and a cople of arrowes. Thes were very agille people, delyver, and quycke, and semed not to be ignoraunt in the feates of warre, as by their order in rangynge theyr fewe men myght appere. Thes people woulde not of longe tyme receave any thinge at owr hands, yet at lengthe owr Generall beinge ashore, thes people dansynge aftar theyr q?

accustomed manor about hym, and he alone withe his bake towards them, one lepte sodeynly to hym and toke his cape with his gold bande of his heade, and rann a litle distance from hym and shared it with his fellowe, the cappe to the one, and the band to thothar. Our Generall havynge finished his busynes with ij. or, rann at them to have taken them, who yet departed not tyll they saw themselues folowed so neare, but then they fled.

All these busynesses thus ovar passed, and Mastar Dowghtye delyveryd out of this flee botte, remayned as yet in the Pelicane; but yet vpon some vnkynd speches, as in sayeng that the worst word that came out of his mowthe was to be beleved asone as his othe, where vpon the Generall dyd not onely stryke hym, but cōmaunded hym to be bound to the mast, for the accomplyshment of the whiche the mastar
fol. 99 b.
of the flee bote, his old hevy frend, toke a litle panye with hym: this was doane as the ij. ships lay together. Here was Mastar Thomas Dowghty put into the Canter, althowghe greatly agaynst his will, for that he sayde he knew them to be there that sowght his lyfe, as, namely, the mastar of the flee bote, and some othar desperate and vnhonest people; but would he or no thethar he must, or els he sware he wowld lyfte hym out with the takle, and in that behalfe cōmaundyd the takle to be lowsed. Thus aboarde the Cantor he went, and his brothar John Dowghty with hym. This, with all, is not to be forgotten, that fell out on this Iland where the flee bote was gyven (as I was credibly informed) as we were even ready to departe and to wey ancor, and the very last company ready to come from the shore, there was one Thomas Cuttle, who sometyme had bene mastar of the Pellycane, with whome at this instant the Generall had talked, from whome the sayd Cutle departed in greate fury, and offerynge to goo over to the mayne, betwene the whiche and the Iland was but a shallowe water, he standynge well towards the myddest in the watar with his *pece* [about] *his necke*

vttered thes wordes, Well, my masters, qd. he, I ame heavyly borne heare, because I wyll not accuse this gentleman of that as I take God to wytnes I knowe not by hym, and therefore I take you all to wytnes what so ever become of me, I nevar knewe any thinge by hym but to be the generalls frend, and rather then I wyll byde this hard contenance at the Generalls hands I wyll yeld my selfe into Canibals hands, and so I pray you all to pray for me. With this all our company departed to theyr ships, and aftar they were all gonn, Cuttle, as he aftar contrye discharged his pece, to the end that the people of the confest, might repayre vnto hym, who indede cam not: Our Generall takynge it that it had bene for a bote sent his boate a shoare, and the company by intreaty brought him aboarde, and so we departed this harboure, not forgettynge y^t^ we had hear watered and made new provysyon of vyctuales, as foyles, where-of we found suche plenty, on a Rockey Iland, as we slewe to the nomber of ij. or iij. hundred in the montenance of an houre. fol. 100 a.

Presently aftar our settynge forthe we lost our Canter, the whiche lacked iij. or iiij. dayes, but as son as our Generall had her agayne, he also gave her over very neare or vndar the same Cape Hope whiche is before mentyoned. But our Generall alwayes thowght or at least woulde so give hit owte, when he sawe any fowle whether, that Thomas Dowghty was occasyon there of. Also here where he gave over this Conter he had agayne some conference with the contry people vnto whome he gave some tryfles and receyved from one of them a gayne made as neare as I cowld gesse of fyshe bones cutt in round spangles and wrought vpon womans heare, but very artyficyally. The xix. of Junn towards night we had syght (not to our all smalle comfortes) of the pryce, very neare the heyght of porte S. Julyan, whiche standethe in 49— 30— to the southwards of the lyne.

But by the way and first becawse it so fals out, I must tell yow some whate of Mastar Dowghtyes woes, whiche dyd daylye increase thrughe this tiranycall governement,

and althowghe the moaste parte, and especially suche as were honeste, dyd lamente his case, yet durst they not to be knowne there of but to theyr assured friends.

Elizabethe. Vppō the gevynge vpp of the Canter, Mastar Drake hymselfe came aborde the *Elizabethe* and callynge all the company togethar tolde them that he was to send thethar a very bad cople of menn, the whiche he dyd not know how to cary alonge with hym this voyadge and goe throwghe ther withe all, as namely, qd. he, Thomas Dowghtie whoe is, qd. he, a cōiurer, a sedy-
fol. 100 b. tyous fellow and a very badd and lewed fellow and one that I have made that reckoninge of as of my leste hand, and his brother the yonge Doughty, a wiche, a poysonar, and suche a one as the worlde cane judge of; I cane not tell from whence he came, but from the dyvell I thinke: and so warninge the company that none shulde speake to them nor vse eny conference with them, yf they dyd he would holde them as his enemys eay and enymyes to the voyadge, and he willed that greate care shulde be taken that they shulde neythar write nor read, and then he declared what welthe the worst boy in the flete shulde get by this voyadge, and how the worst boy shuld never nede to goe agayne to sea, but shuld be able to lyve in England with a ryght good gentleman, for, qd. he, you shall see that we will have gold come as plentifull as this wode vnto the ships, and when I have made my voyadge I wyll stay one foure dayes for you my mastars to take the spoyle, qd. he. With dyvars other lyke invectyves agaynst hym he departed, and shortly aftar he sent the sayd
ye Elizabethe. Thomas Dowghty and his brothar aboarde the *Elizabethe*, cōmandynge them as they would aunswere it with theyr lyves not to set penne to papar ne yet to rede but what every man myght vnderstand and se. And sune theyr intertaynement there was accordingly, for men durst not speake to hym (althowghe wyllyngly perhaps they would). And as his fare was withe the symplest in the shipe, so was his lodginge agreable vnto the same. But he havynge agreed with the

boatesman of the shipe for a cabyne rome which stode God knewe in an vncomfortable rome, yet must he paye iij. li for the same in England. But what came of this to the fellowe, he was fayne for his so frindly vsyng hym to lose his office, and to continew in heavy displeasure.

Thus havyng, as I afore sayd, found agayne our price, we herbourd our selves the next day, being the xx. of June, in a very good herborow, subposed to be the same that Magellane called port S. Jullian, for owr men found heare on the mayne a gybett, which we supposed to be the place where he dyd execution. The xxij. of June owr generall went ashore the maygne, and in his company John Thomas, Robert Winterhey, Olyver the mastar gonner, John Bruers, Thomas Flood, and Thomas Drake, and enteringe a land they were forbyden by ij. or iij. of the contry people to passe any fardar that waye, whiche they reconed not of. This Robert Wynterhey havynge in his hand a bowe and arrowes, offered to make a shot of pleasure, in whiche drawght his strynge brake, which they takinge as a profer of warre and seynge this opurtunytie they begun to bend the foarce of theyr bowes agaynst our men, whom they drove to theyr shiftes very narowly, for they slewe there ij. of owr men, as namely, owr mastar gonner, and the sayde Wynterhey, they havynge onely theyr bowes and arrowes which our men made no accompte of, and owr men had ij. peces, a bowe and arrowes, ther swords and targetts, wherefore I would not wyshe so small reconynge to be made at any tyme of the enemye howe weake so evar his force seme to be. fol. 101 a

One this Iland in porte S. Julyan passed many matters which I thinke God would not have to be concealed, and especially for that they tended to murder, for here he spewyd oute agaynst Thomas Dowghty all his venome, here he ended all his conceyved hatred, not by curtesy or fryndly reconsylement, but by moaste tyranicall blud spillyng, for

he was never quyet while he lyved, whiche in wysdome and honest goverment as farr passed hym as he in tyrany excelled all men. The worlde nevar comytted fact lyke vnto
fol. 101 b. this, for here he mordered hym that yf he had well loked into hymself had bene a more sure and stedfast frend vnto hym than evar was Pythias to his frind Damon, as I thinke the sequell of this lefe will purport and showe.

The last day of June, the Generall hymselfe beinge set in place of judgement (and havynge the whole company browght a shore) and havynge John Thomas set close by hym, who opened a bundle of papers that were rolled vp together, where in were writen dyvers and sondry articles, the which, before they were reade, the Generall spake vnto Mastar Thomas Dowghtie, who then was present before, browght thethar more lyke a prisonar then a gentleman of honest conversation, vnto whom Drake gane to say, Thomas Dowghtye, yow have heare sowght by dyvers meanes, in as myche as yow maye, to discredite me, to the greate hinderaunce and ovarthrowe of this voyage, besydes other greate mattars where with I have to charge yow with all, the whiche yf yow can clere yowr selfe of, yow and I shalbe very good frends, whereto the contrary yow have deserved deathe. Mastar Dowghty aunswered, it shuld nevar be aproved that he meryted eny villany towards hym. By whome, qd. he, will yow be tryed. Why, good Generall, qd. he, let me lyve to come into my contrye, and I will there be tried by hir Maiesties lawes. Nay, Thomas Dowghtye, qd. he, I will here impanell a Jurye on yow to inquiere fardar of thes mattars that I have to charge yow with all. Why, Generall, qd. he, I hope yow will see yowre comyssyon be good. I warrant yow, aunswered he, my comissyon is good enowghe. I pray yow let vs then see it, qd. he, it is necessarye that it shuld be here shewed. Well, qd. he, yow shall not se it; but well, my mastars, this fellowe is full of prating,
fol. 102 a. bynd me his armes, for I will be saffe of my lyffe. My

mastars, yow that be my good frinds, Thomas Hood, Gregory, yow there my mastars bynd hym. So they toke hym and bound his armes behynd hym; then he gave dyvers furyous words vnto Thomas Dowghty, as charginge hym to be the man that poysoned my lorde of Essex as he thought; and then, agayne, whereas Mastar Dowghtye avouched to his face that he browght hym first to the presence of my lord in Ireland. Thow, qd. he, bringe me to my lorde? loe, my mastars, se howe he goethe aboute to discredite me: this fellow with my lord was nevar of eny estemation, I thinke he nevar cam about hym; for I that was dayly with my lorde nevar saw hym there above once, and that was longe aftar my enterteynement with my lorde.

Then, in fyne, was there a Jury called, whereof Mastar John Wyntar was forman. Then by John Thomas were these articles red vnto them, even once ovar for a last farewell, for feare that men shuld have caryed them awaye by memorye, all whiche apered to be words of vnkyndnes, and to procede of some choler, all whiche Dowghtye dyd not gretly deny, vntill at length cam in one Edward Bright, whose honeste of lyfe I have not to deale with, who sayde: Nay, Dowghtye, we have othar mattar for yow yet that will a litle neare towche yow, it wyll, I foythe, byte yow at the qwicke. I pray the, nedd Bright, qd. he, chardge me with nothyng but trewthe, and spare me not. Then John Thomas red fardar for his last article, to conclude the hole withall, that Thomas Dowghtye shulde say to Edward Bright in Mastar Drakes garden, that the qwenes maiestie and counsell woulde be corrupted. So Bryght holdinge vp his fingar, sayd, How lyke yow thes gere, syrra? qd. he. Why, nedd Bryght, sayd Mastar Dowghtye, what shuld move the thus to belye me? thow knowest that such famyliaritie was nevar betwene the and me, but it may be I sayde yf we browght home gold we shuld be the bettar welcom, but yet that is more then I do remembar. fol. 102 b.

Then it fell out vpon fardar talke that Mastar Dowghty sayde that my lorde Tresorar had a plott of the voyadge. No, that hathe he not, qd. Mastar Drake. Thothar replyed that he had. How? qd. Mastar Drake. He had it from me, qd. Mastar Dowghty. Lo, my mastars, qd. he, what this fellowe hath done, God will have his trecheryes all knowne, for her Maiestie gave me speciall cōmaundement that of all men my lord Tresorar shuld not knowe it, but to se he his owne mowthe hathe betwrayed hym. So this was a speciall article agaynst hym to cut his throte, and greatly he semed to reioyce at this advauntage. Then Mastar Dowghty offered hym yf he would permit hym to lyve and to answere thes obiections in England, he would set his hand to what so was there writen, or to any thinge els that he would sett downe. Well once let thes men, qd. he, find whethar yow be giltie in this or no, and then we will fardar talke of the mattar, and then he delyvered (aftar they had all *taken** theyr othes geven by John Thomas) the bylls of inditement, as I may terme them, vnto Mastar John Wintar, who was forman of this Inquest.

Then Mastar Leonard Vicarye, a very and assured frend vnto Mastar Thomas Dowghtie, sayde vnto hym, Generall, this is not lawe, nor agreable to iustice that you offer. I have not, qd. he, to do with yow crafty lawyars, neythar care I for the lawe, but I know what I wyll do. Why, qd. Mastar Vicarie, who was one of his Jurye, I knowe not how we may answere his lyffe. Well, Mastar Vicarye, qd. he, yow shall not have to do with his lyffe, let me alone with that, yow are but to see whethar he be giltye in thes articles that here is obiected agaynst hym or no. Why very well, sayd Mastar Vicarye, then there is, I trust, no mattar of death. No, no, Mastar Vicarye, qd. he.

fol. 103 a.

So with this the Jury went together, fyndyng all to be trwe, without any dowbte or stoppe made, but only to that

* Taten, M.S.

article that Edwarde Bright had obiected agaynst hym ; for it was doubted of some whethar Bright were sufficient with his onely worde to cast away the lyfe of a man, and trulye it dyd argwe small honestie in a man to conceale suche a matar yf it had bene spoken in England, and to vttar it in that place where wyll was lawe and reason put in exile ; for an honest subiecte would not have conceld suche mattar, which made some dowbt of vnhonest dealynge. But to be brefe, answere was made that Bright was a very honest man, and so the verdict beinge gyven in, it was told to the Generall that there was dowbte made of Bryghts honestie. Why, qd. Mastar Drake, I dare to swere that what ned Bright hathe sayde is very true. (Yet within fortnight aftar the same Bright was in such dislykynge with hym as he semed to doutt his lyffe ; for the sayd Bright he displaste hym of the Pelicane, and put him into the Marigolde, sayenge that hym selfe would be saffe, and he would put them fare enowght from hym.)

Thus havynge receyved in the verdicte, he rose of the place and departed towardes the watar syde, where callynge all the company with hym, except Mastar Thomas Dowghty and his brothar, he there opened a certayne bondle of lettars fol. 103 b. and bylls and lookynge on them sayd, Gods will I have lefte in my cabyne that I shuld especially have had (as yf he had there forgotten his comyssyon, but whithar he forgat his comyssyon or no he muche forgat himselfe, to set without shewinge his comyssyon yf he had any) but trewly I thinke it shuld have bene shewed to the vttermoste yf he had had it. But heare he shewed forthe first lettars that were wryten (as he sayde) by Mastar Hankyns to my lorde of Essex for his intertaynement, secondly he shewed lettars of thanks from my lorde of Essex vnto Master Hankens for the preferringe so good a servitur vnto hym, and how myche he had pleasured hym, then red he lettars that past from my lord of Essex vnto secretary Walsyngham in his greate comenda-

tion, then shewed he lettars of Mastar Hattons vnto hym selfe, tendinge for the acceptance of his men John Thomas and Jhon Brwer, and theyr well vsage in this voyadge, and lastely he red a bill of hir maiesties aventure of a thousand crownes (but I moste marveyled that so many noble men and gentlemen did leve theyr lettars in his hands, excepte it were to shewe in this place for his credite).

So when he had all done he sayde more, My mastars, qd. he, you may se whether this fellowe hathe sowght my discredite or no, and what shuld hereby be ment but the very ovarthrowe of the vyadge, as first by takynge away of my good name, and altogethar discreditinge me, and then my lyfe, which I beinge bereved of what then will you do, you wilbe fayne one to drinke an othars blod, and
fol. 104 a. so to returne agayne vnto yowr contrye, you will nevar be able to find the way thethar, and now my mastars consyder what a great voyadge we are lyke to make, the lyke was nevar made out of England, for by the same the worst in this flete shall become a gentleman, and yf this voyadge go not forward, whiche I can not se howe posseble it shulde yf this man lyve, what a reproache it wilbe, not only vnto owr contrye but especially vnto vs, the very symplest here may consider of. Therefore my mastars they that thinke this man worthy to dye let them with me hold vpp theyr hands, and they that thinke hym not worthye to dye hold downe theyr hands.

At the whiche dyvers that envyed his former felicite hilde vp theyr hands, some other agayne for feare of his severitie sticked not to lyfte theyr hands althowghe agaynst theyr hartes, but some agayne lyffted up theyr hands and very hartes vnto the Lorde to delyver vs of this tyranous and cruell tirant, who vpon the same comynge to his former judgement seate pronounced hym the childe of deathe, and perswadyd hym withall that he would by thes means make hym the servaunt of God. And sayd fardar yf any man

could betwene that and the next morrowe devyse any waye that myght save his lyfe he would here it, and wished hym hym selfe to devyse some waye for his owne savegarde. Well, Generall, qd. he, seinge it is come to this passe that I se yow would have me made awaye, I pray yow cary me with you to the Perwe and there set me a shore. No trewly, Perewe. Mastar Dowghty, I can not answere it to hir Maiestie yf I shuld so do. But how saye yow, Thomas Dowghty, yf any man will warrant me to be saffe from your hands and will vndartake to kepe yow, sure yow shall see what I will saye vnto yow. Mastar Dowghty then lokynge on Mastar Wyn- fol. 104 b. tar, sayd vnto hym, Mastar Wyntar will yow be so good as to vndertake this for me. Then Mastar Wintar sayd vnto Mastar Drake, that he shuld be saffe of his person, and he would warrant hym yf he dyd comytt hym to his custodye. Then Drake a litle pawsynge sayd, Loe then, my mastars, qd. he, we must thus doe, we must nayle hym closse vndar the hatches and returne home agayne without makynge any voyadge, and yf youw will do so say your mindes. Then a companye of desperate banckwrouptes that could not lyve in theyr contrye without the spoyle of that as others had gotten by the swete of theyr browes, cryed, God forbyde, good Generall, whiche voyce was no les attentively herde, for there nedyd no spure to a willing horsse. Thus wyllynge Mastar Dowghtye to prepare for his deathe, and havynge geven hym one hole dayes respite to set all things in order, he ryse and departyd, alwayes promisonge that his continuall prayers to God shuld not cease that it would please God to put into his heade how he might do hym good. But he had so often afore sworne that he would hange hym, that I think at this present he ment to do hym little good.

Thus Mastar Dowghty continuyng all this nyght, the next day, and the second nyght in his prayers, excepte some smale tyme that he vsed in setting his worldly busynes in some staye, and distributinge to suche as he thowght good suche

things as he ther had with hym, was the ij. day of Julij comandyd to prepare hym selfe and to make hym ready to dye. Then Mastar Dowghtye, with a more cherefoll countenance then evar he had in all his lyfe to the showe, as one that dyd altogethar contempne lyffe, prayed hym that ere he dyed he might receyve the sacrament, which was not only grauntyd hym, but Drake hyme selfe offered to accompany hym to the Lords table, for the whiche Mastar Dowghtye
fol. 105 a. gave hym herty thanks, nevar wens* termyng hym then my good capitayne.

Mastar Drake with all offered hym to make choyse of his owne deathe, as yf he would, and for that he sayde he was a gentleman he shuld but losse his heade; the whiche kynde of deathe was mooste agreable to his minde, in as muche as he must nedes dye. And trwly I hard say that Mastar Drake offered hym, yf he would that he shuld be shotten to deathe with a pece, and that he hym selfe woulde do that exployte and so he shuld dye of the hands of a gentleman. But in fyne they together receyved the Lords suppere, the which I do even assure my selfe, that he dyd take with as vncorruptyd a mynd as evar dyd any innocent of the worlde, for he sure shewed hym selfe to have all his affiance and onely trust in God, he shewed hym selfe so valiant in this extremyties as the worlde myght wonder at, he semed to have conquered deathe it selfe, and it was not sene that of all this daye before his deathe that evar he altered one jot his countenaunce, but kept it as stayde and fyrme as yf he had had some message to delyvar to some noble man.

They havynge thus receyved the sacrament there was a banckett made suche as the place might yelde, and there they dyned togethar, in whiche tyme the place of execution beinge made readye, aftar dynnar, as one not willing any longer to delaye the tyme, [he] tolde the Generall that he was readye assone as it pleased hym, but prayed hym that

* Qy. wons, for *once*.

he myght speake aloane with hym a fewe words, with the whiche they ij. talked a parte the space of halfe a quartar of an howre, and then with bylls and staves he was browght to the place of execution where he shewyd hymselfe no les valyant then all the tyme afore, for first here knelynge on his knees, he first prayed for the qwenes maiestie of England his sovereigne lady and mastres, he then prayed to God for the happy successe of this voyadge, and prayed to God to turne it to the profite of his contrye, he re- fol. 105 b.
membred also there dyvars his good frinds, and especially ser William Wyntar, prayenge Mastar John Wintar to cō-mend hym to that good knyght, all whiche he ded with so cherefull a countenaunce as yf he had gon to some great prepared banqwet, the whiche I sure thinke that he was fully resolved that God had provyded for hym.

So at the laste, turnynge to the Generall, he sayde, Nowe, truly, I may say, as dyd ser Thomas More, that he that cuts of my heade shall have litle honestie, my necke is so shorte. So turnynge hym and lokynge aboute on the hole company, he desyred them all to forgyve hym, and especially some that he dyd perceyve to have displasure borne them for his sake, whereof Thomas Cuttle was one, Hughe Smythe was anothar, and dyvars othars; wher vpon Smithe prayed hym to say before the Generall then, whither evar they had any conference togethar that myght sound to his preiudice or detriment? he toke it at his deathe that neythar he nor anye man els evar practized any trecherye towards the Generall with hym, neyther dyd he hym selfe evar thinke any villanous thowght agaynst hym. Then he prayed hym to be good vnto the same Hughe Smith and to forgyve hym for his sake. So the Generall sayd, Well, Smithe, for Mastar Dowghtyes sake, and at his request, I forgyve the, but by the lyffe of God, qd. he, I was determyned to have neyled thye ears to the pyllary and to have cut them of; but become a honest man hereafter. So then Mastar Dowghtye imbras-

ynge the Generall, namynge hym his good Capitayne, bad hym farewell, and so byddynge the hole company farewell, he layde his heade to the bloke, the whiche beinge stricken
fol. 106 a. of, Drake moaste despightfully made the head to be taken vp and shewed to the hole company, hymselfe sayenge, Loo, this is the end of traytors.

So he beinge beryed and thes things finished, the whole company being togethar, Mastar Drake protested before God that what so evar he was shuld offend but the viij. parte that Dowghty had done shuld dye for it. He also protested and sware by the lyfe of God and the blessyd sacrament that he that day had receyved, that what so evar he were within the flete that dyd gyve a blowe shuld lose his hande without exception of any, and yet the next day it thus fortuned that Mastar Dowghtyes yongar brothar walkynge both solitary and mornefull as well for remembraunce of his brothars late deathe, as also weyenge the imynent perell hangynge ovar his owne head, as this consequence may purporte, there comes vnto hym Edward Bright, a chefe supposed instrument of his brothars deathe, sayenge vnto hym, Gods wounds, thow vyllane, what knowest thow by my wyfe, and withall strake at hym with his rular, as of purpos to pyke a qwarell to hasten his end also. Why, Ned Bright, qd. he, thou seyst what case I ame in, I praye the let me alone, and with all bare of the blowe with his arme, where with the ruler brake, but Bright semynge very furious thrust hym in the face with the pece that remayned in his hand, the splynters where of entered an ynch into his face, presently vppon the whiche he went vnto the Generall to complayne of Bryght. Why, John Dowghtye qd. he, (without havynge any regard of his othe the day before made,) Ned Bright will lye open to your revenge in England, for I dare say thy brothar dyd belye her when he sayde that she had an yle name in Cambridge. Then myght every man
fol. 106 b. well perceyve the litle ment honestie, and then myght a

blynd man have sene the ruyne of the voyadge even at hand, for how can God, or how wyll he prosper that goverment where no justice is, but eythar extreme tirany, or favorable partialitie.

All thes things thus ovarpassed, he wylled and streightly cōmandyd the hole company to be ready to receyve the next Sonday followynge, sayenge that he would have all olde qwarells what so evar betwene any man to be forgeven, and that what so evar he were that from that tyme forth shuld abrayde any man with any thinge paste he would lay suche and so hevy punyshement on hym as shuld be a teryble example to the hole flete (which I thinke might have bene kepte yf hym selfe had not first broken it), and also every man cōmaunded to confesse hym vnto Mastar Fletcher, who, yf he gave as frendly and holsome consell vnto every othar man as he dyd vnto me, no dowbte but he was to be allowed a good prelate, for I cam vnto hym for that I had some grudge to some one man in the fleete, but would for feare of ther tiranyes in that place cover it, sayde vnto hym, Mastar Fletchar, I shuld be very lothe to receyve on Sonday, for that my conscience will not permit me. Whi, qd. Mastar Fletchar? For that, qd. I, I have some suche grudge in conscience that I can not. What, is it agaynst any in the fleett? I answered hym, No. Why then, qd. he, I warrant yow yow may receyve with a good conscience. But trwly vntyll this tyme I had thowght that the same God had rulyd there that we do honor in England. Yet let Mastar Flecher preache what he will, I am throwghly perswaded that yf we had not affied in the same good God that we worshipe here, fol. 107 a. we had nevar agayne sene owr contry.

But how we were heare at this present oppressed with cold by the vehemency of wyntar and owr spare diete agreable vnto the same, the sycknes that at this tyme dyd begynne to growe on owr men and so continuyd, may be a witnes. Yet amonge the rest I found this good favour

at the General's hands, that I was kept ashore but a fortnyght or lytle more in my dublet and my hosse without my gowne or eny thinge els to kepe me warme, but to lye every nyght on the colde grownde, and beinge in that tyme at the ships syde once for to have fetchet it, and could neythar be suffered to come in to fetche it nor any man suffered to delyvar it me, I know not wherefore excepte it were for that I harde Mastar Dowghty speke more good of hym then evar he wyll here aftar deserve agaynst any man, but trwely I thanke hym muche for it, for he hardened me well agaynst suche tyme of service. Thus, with Gods helpe, I pertely deceyved hym at that tyme, for he could not with colde kyll me, and for puttinge hym to fardar payne in that behalfe I hope here aftar well ynowghe to watche hym.

But now the xj. of August, he agayne cōmaundyd the company to be a shore, for that he had some mattar of importance to say vnto them. This day the company were accordingly set a shore, who wayted his comynge, who presently vpon his cōmynge a shore entered into a tent, one syde of the whiche was layde open, the companye the bettar to se and heare whate myght be sayde; and he callynge Mastar Wyntar on one syde of hym and John Thomas on thothar syde, his man layde in before hym a greate paper boke, and withall Mastar Fletcher offered hym selfe to make a sermon. Nay, softe, Mastar Fletchar (qd. he) I must preache this daye my selfe, althowghe I have small skyll in preachinge. Well, be all the company here, ye or not. Answere was made that they war all there. Then cōmanded he every ships company severally to stand togethar, whiche was also done. Then sayde he, My mastars, I ame a very badd orrator, for
fol. 107 b. my brynginge vp hath not bene in learnynge, but what so I shall here speke, let anye man take good notice of what I shall say, and let hym write it downe, for I will speke nothinge but I wyll answere it in England, yea and before

hir maiestie, and I have it here alredy set downe: but whethar it were in his boke, as he made mention of, I knowe not, but this was the effecte of and very neare the words.

Thus it is, my mastars, that we are very far from owr contry and frinds, we are compassed in on every syde with owr enemyes, wherefore we are not to make small reconynge of a man, for we can not have a man yf we would gyve for hym ten thousand pounds. Wherefore we muste have these mutines and discords that are growne amongest vs redrest, for by the lyfe of God it dothe even take my wytes from me to thinke on it; here is suche controversye betwene the saylars and the gentlemen, and suche stomakynge betwene the gentlemen and saylars, that it dothe even make me madd to here it. But, my mastars, I must have it lefte, for I must have the gentleman to hayle and draw with the mariner, and the maryner with the gentleman. What, let us show owr selvs all to be of a company, and let vs not gyve occasyon to the enemye to reioyce at owr decaye and ovarthrowe. I would know hym that would refuse to set his hand to a roape, but I know there is not any suche heare; and as gentlemen are verye necesarye for governements sake in the voyadge, so have I shipte them for that, and to some farthar intent, and yet thwghe I knowe saylars to be the most envyous people of the worlde, and so vnruly without governement, yet may not I be without them. Also yf there be any here willinge to returne home let me vnderstand of them, and heare is the Marigolde, a shipe that I can very well spare, I will furnishe her to suche as will returne with the moaste credite I can gyve them, eythar to my lettars or any way els; but let them take hede that they goo homeward, for yf I fynd them fol. 103 a. in my way I will surely synke them, therefore you shall have tyme to consyder here of vntill to morow, for by my trothe I must nedes be playne with yow. I have taken that in hand that I knowe not in the worlde how to goo thrwghe

with all, it passethe my capacitie, it hathe even bereaved me of my wytts to thinke on it.

Well, yet the voice was that none would returne, they wolde all take suche parte as he dyd. Well, then, my mastars, qd. he, cam yow all forth with yowr good wylls or no. They aunswered, that they cam all withe theyr wills. At whose hands, my mastars, loke yow to receyve yowr wages. At yowrs, answered the companyes. Then, qd. he, how say yow, will yow take wages or stand to my curtesye? At yowr curtesye, qd. the companyes, for we knowe not, qd. some, what wages to aske. Then he cōmaunded the steward of the elezabeth presentle there to lay downe the key of the rome, whiche he dyd. Then turnynge hym vnto Mastar Wyntar, he sayd, Mastar Wyntar, I do here descharge yow of yowr captayneshipe of the *E.;* and yow, John Thomas, of the *Marygolde;* and yow, Thomas Hood, of yowr mastarshipe in the *Pellicane;* and yow, William Markham, of the *E.;* and Nicholas Antonye, of the *Marigold;* and, to be brefe, I do here dyscharge every officere of all offices what so evar. Then Mastar Wyntar and John Thomas asked hym what shuld move hym so to displace them. He asked whithar they could make any reason why he shuld not do so. So willynge them to content them selves, he willed sylence in thos mattars, sayenge, ye se here the great disorders that we are here entered into, and althowghe some have already receyved condinge punishement as by deathe, who, I take God to wytnes, as yow all knowe, was to me as my othar hand; yet yow se ovar and besydes the rest, his owne mouthe
fol. 108 b. dyd bewraye his trecherous dealinge, and se how trustinge in the syngularytie of his owne wytt, ovar reacht hym selfe at vnwares; but se what God woulde have done, for hir Maiestie cōmandyd that of all men my lorde Tresorar shuld have no knowledge of this voyadge, and to se that his owne mouthe hath declared that he hathe gywen hym a plott there

of. But truly, my mastars, and as I am a gentleman, there shall no more dye, I wyll lay my hand on no more, althowghe there be heare that have deserved as muche as he; and so chargynge one Worrall that was there present, that his case was worse then Dowghtyes, who in Mastar Dowghtys extremytis was one of Drakes confellows, who humblynge hym selfe to Drake nowe vpon his knees, prayed hym to be good vnto hym. Well, well, Worrall, qd. he, yow and I shall talke well enowghe of this matter here aftar.

Then he charged one John Audley with some ill dealyngs towards hym, but opened no mattar, but sayde he would talke with hym alone aftar dynnar. Here is some agayne, my mastars, not knowynge how els to discredit me, say and affirme that I was set forthe on this voyadge by Mastar Hatton, some by Ser Wylliam Wintar, and some by Mastar Hawkes; but this is a company of ydle heads that have nothing els to talke of. But, my mastars, I must tell yow I do honor them as my very good frinds, but to say that they were the settars forthe of this voyadge, or that it was by theyr meanes, I tell yow it was nothinge so, but indeede thus it was: my lorde of Essex wrote in my cōmendations vnto secretorye Walsyngham more then I was worthy, but belyke I had deserved somewhate at his hands, and he thowght me in his lettars to be a fite man to sarve agaynst the Spanyards, fol. 109 a. for my practice and experience that I had in that trade, where vpon indede secretary Walsyngham dyd come to conferr with hym, and declared vnto hym that for that her Maiestie had receyved dyvers iniuries of the Kynge of Spayne, for the whiche she desyred to have some revenge; and with all he shewed me a plott (qd. he) willinge me to set my hand, and to noate downe where I thowght he myght moaste be anoyed; but I tolde hym some parte of my mynde, but refused to set my hand to any thinge, affirminge that hir Maiestie was mortall, and that yf it shuld please God to take

hir Maiestie awaie, it myght be that some prince myght rayne that myght be in league with the Kynge of Spayne, and then wyll myne owne hand be a witnes agaynst my selfe. Then was I very shortly aftar and in an eveninge sent for vnto hir Maiestie by secretary Wallsyngham, but cam not to hir Maiestie that nyght, for that it was late; but the next daye comynge to hir presens, thes or the lyke words (as he sayd) Drake, So it is that I would gladly be revenged on the Kynge of Spayne, for dyvers iniuries that I have receyved, and sayd fardar that he was thonely man that myght do this exployte, and withall craved his advice therein. Who told hir Maiestie of the smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but thonly waye was to anoy hym by his Indyes.

Then with many more words he shewed forthe a byll of hir Maiesties adventure of a 1000 crownes whiche he sayde at sometyme before that hir Maiestie dyd gyve hym towards
fol. 109 b. his chargs, he showed also a byll of Mastar Hattons adventure, and dyvers lettars of credit that had past in his behalfe, but he nevar let them come out of his owne hands. He sayde also that hir Maiestie dyd swere by hir crowne that yf any with in her realme dyd gyve the Kynge of Spayne hereof to vndarstond (as she suspected but too) they shuld lose theyr heades therefore. And now, my mastars, qd. he, let vs consydre what we have done, we have now set togethar by the eares thre myghty princes, as first her Maiestie, the Kyngs of Spayne and Portyngale, and yf this voyadge shulde not have good successe, we shuld not only be a skornynge or a reprochefull scoffinge stoke vnto our enemyes, but also a greate blott to owr hole contry for evar, and what trivmpthe would it be to Spayne and Portyngale, and agayne the lyke would nevar be atempted.

And so restorynge every man agayne to his former office he ended, thus showynge the company thot he would satisfye every man or els he would sell all that evar he had

vnto his sherte, for, qd. he, I have good reason to promyse and ame best able to performe it, for I have some what of myne owne in England, and bysyds that I have as muche adventure in this voyadge as thre of the best what so evar, and yf it so be that I nevar come home, yet wyll her Maiestie paye every man his wages, whom indede yow and we all come to serve, and for to saye yow come to serve me I will not gyve yow thanks, for it is onely hir Maiestie that you serve and this voyadge is onely her setting forthe. So wisshinge all men to be frinds he willed fol. 110 a. them to departe about theyr busynes.

The xvij. of August owr generall departyd this harbour, but a daye or ij. before his departur he came a boarde the *Elizabeth* and swore very vehementtly, I know not vpon what Elizabeth occasyon, that he would hange to the nombar of xxx. in the flete that had deserved, and ther agayne charge Worrall that his case was worse than Dowghties, and that by Gods wonds he had deserved to be hanged; and Mastar Wyntar, qd. he, wher is your man Vlysses? by Gods lyfe yf he were my man I would cut of his ears, yea by Gods wounds I wold hange hym: but wherefore truly I do not knowe.

The xxj. of Awgust we entered the streyghts called Magellianes streytes, the xxiiij. of the same we arryved at an Iland where we had greate store of fowles which could not Fowles we could nott fly. flye, of the bygnes of gese: we kylde in lesse then one day above thre thowsand of thes fowles and victualed owr selves thrwly with them as we thowght. These streyghts were full of watar and wodde all the waye and very hy lande of both syds, in some places but a leauge in bredthe, in some places 2, in some 3, and some 4.

The vj. September we entered the sowthe sea, where in all our beynge we never found but contrary winds and extreme tempestes and boysterous wether. The last of September we fol. 110 b. lost the Marygolde, and the viij. of October we lost the

Generall and put owr selves to herbour in the streytes, where we rested, harbourd vntill the j. of Novembar, and then for owr retorne I thinke owr Captayne, Mastar Wyntar, wyll aunswer, who toke the peryll on hym.

JOHN COOKE.

For fraunses Drake, Knyght, sone to Sir Drake, vickar of Vpchurche, in Kent.

APPENDIX V.

EXTRACTS FROM HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES.

I. *The course which* Sir Francis Drake *held from the haven of* Guatulco, *in the South Sea, on the east side of* Nueva Espanna, *to the Northwest of* California, *as far as fourtie three degrees : and his returne back along the said Coast to thirty eight degrees : where, finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and staying there many weekes, and discouering many excellent things in the countrey, and great shewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the same, hee tooke possession thereof in the behalfe of her Maiestie, and named it* Noua Albion.

We kept our course from the Isle of *Cano* (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of *Nicaragua*, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of *Nueua Espanna*, untill we came to the hauen and towne of *Guatulco*, which (as we were informed) had but seuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Assoone as we were entred this hauen we landed, and went presently to the towne and to the towne-house, where we found a judge sitting in judgement, he being associate with three other officers, upon three negroes that had conspired the burning of the towne : both which judges and

prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shippeboord, and caused the chiefe judge to write his letter to the towne, to command all the townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransaked the towne; and in one house we found a pot, of the quantitie of a bushell, full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ship. And here one *Thomas Moone,* one of our companie, took a Spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and let him goe.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall pilote, which he tooke at the Island of Cape *Verde,* out of a ship of Saint *Marie,* port of Portugall, and having set them a shoore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish coastes, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose handes, he being left but one ship, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights of the south side, with continuall stormes raining and blustring, as he found by experience, besides the shoals and sands upon the coast, wherefore he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore, to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the *Malucos,* and therehence to saile the course of the Portugales by the Cape of *Bona Sperança.*

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way for

the *Malucos*, and finding himselfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must bee enforced to take a Spanish course, namely, to saile somewhat northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore set saile, and sayled 800 leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sayled from the 16th of Aprill, after our olde stile, till the third of June.

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backe side of America to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude 38 degrees.

The fift day of June, being in fortie-three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being speedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre so colde, that our men being pinched with the same, complayned of the extremetie thereof, and the further we went the more the colde increased upon us; whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land (and we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie-eight degrees towardes the line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good bay, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this bay wee ankered the seuenteenth of June, and the people of the countery, having their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues unto us, and sent a present to our Generall.

A description of the countrey of *Noua Albion*.

When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things which we brought; but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednesse; whereupon they supposed us to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie: the presentes which they sent unto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the uttermost brimmes of the circle clifts of wood set upon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenesse are very warme. Their bed is the ground with rushes strawed on it, and

lying about the house; they haue the fire in the middest. The men goe naked; the women take bulrushes and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which, being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skin of deere, with the haire upon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of *tabacco* for presents: and when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our tents), they stayed themselues, where one appointed for speaker wearied himself with making a long oration; which done, they left their bowes upon the hill and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time our Generall, with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before we had bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there being spread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the king himself, a man of goodly stature and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadours to our Generall, to signifie that their king was comming, in doing of which message their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send something by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned

with glad tidings to their king, who marched to us with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their maner; and as they drewe neere unto us, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelinesse.

In the fore front was a man of goodly personage, who bare the scepter or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a merueilous length: the crownes were made of knit work, wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some twelue. Next unto him which bare the scepter was the king himselfe, with his guarde about his person, clad with conie skinnes, and other skinnes: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke and other colours, and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents. These are like the chaines of *Esurnoy* in *Canada*, and *Hochelage*.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approaching a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the king, being informed by another, whom they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall *Amen*, as it were, giuen, the king, with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted), came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the king with his

garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, sauing onely the women, which daunced and kept silence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their song and dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the king and diuers others made seueral orations or rather supplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which to perswade us the better, the king and the rest, with one consent and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of *Hioh*, adding thereunto, as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name and to the use of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said countrey in his hands, wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The King resignes his crowne and kingdome to *Sir Francis Drake.*

Great riches in *Noua Albion.*

The common sort of the people, leauing the king and his guarde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person; and such as pleased their fancie (which were the yongest), they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of blood. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed unto us their

wounds, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices unto us, untill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from us, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grieuous unto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that being absent wee would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his companie traueiled up into the countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of deere by a thousand in a company, being most large and fat of body. Greatheards of deere.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a strange kinde of conies, their bodyes in bignes as be the Barbary conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a want, and the taile of a rat, being of great length: under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which shee gathereth her meate when she hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings coate was made of them. Abundance of strange conies.

Our Generall called this countrey *Noua Albion*, and that for two causes: the one, in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our countrey in name, which sometime was so called. *Noua Albion.*

There is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some speciall likelihood of gold or siluer. Gold and silver in the earth of *Noua Albion.*

At our departure hence our Generall set up a monument of our being there; as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely, a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing up of the

prouince and the people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a piece of sixe pence of current English money under the plate, where under was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the country, neither did euer discouer the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

[HAKLUYT—*Voyages*,
vol. iii, pp. 440-442.]

II. *The famous Voyage of* Sir Francis Drake *into the South Sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the Earth, began in the yeere of our Lord* 1577.

The 15 day of Nouembre, in the yeere of our Lord 1577, M. *Francis Drake*, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen, and sailers, departed from *Plimmouth*, giuing out his pretended uoyage for *Alexandria*: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into *Falmouth* hauen, in *Cornewall*, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserue us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars. The mast of our admirall, which was the *Pellican*, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the *Marigold* was driuen ashore, and somewhat bruised: for the repairing of which damages wee returned again to *Plimmouth*, and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from *Plimmouth*, and set saile the 13 day of December following.

The 25 day of the same moneth we fell with the *Cape Cantin*, upon the coast of *Barbarie*, and coasting along, the 27 day we found an island called *Mogador*, lying one mile distant from the maine; between which island and the maine we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

The isle of *Mogador* on the coaste of *Barbarie*

On this island our Generall erected a pinnesse, whereof he brought out of *England* with him foure already framed. While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitants of the countrey, shewing foorth their flags of truce, which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ship, which by signes shewed our Generall that the next day they would bring some prouision, as sheepe, capons, and hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linen cloth and shooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters side, and our Generall, againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away: so that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnesse being finished, wee departed from this place the 30. and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine *Canters* which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. carauels and tooke them also.

Januarie. The 17. day of January we arriued at *Cape Blanco*, where we found a ship riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our Generall mustered and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we tooke of the fishermen such necessaries as

wee wanted and they could yeeld us, and leauing heere one of our little barkes called the *Benedict*, wee tooke with us one of theirs which they called *Canters*, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with us one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Islands of *Cape Verde* for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or pilot of that Carauel did aduertise our Generall, that upon one of those Islands called *Mayo*, there was great store of dryed *Cabitros*, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for such of the kings ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of *Brasile* or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Island the 27. of January, but the inhabitants would in no case traffique with us, being thereof forbidden by the kings edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouision of victuals, about three score and two men under the conduct and gouernment of Master *Winter* and Master *Doughtie*, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portugall wee were informed), hauing trauailed to the mountaines the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, we arrested our selues to see day before us, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils. The Isle of *Mayo*.

Here we gaue ourselues a litle refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded us: and that season being with us the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the sunne passeth twise in the yeere through Ripe grapes in winter.

their zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, and being so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantities is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called *cocos*, which, because it is not commonly knowen with us in *England*, I thought good to make some description of it.

The description of the tree that beareth *cocos*.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the uttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell, of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kinde of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you shall not only finde it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruits, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of *cabritos** aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that we could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had layde out, as it were to stoppe our mouthes withall, certain olde dryed *cabritos*, which being but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

* Or goates.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of *S. Jago*, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three pecces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and, as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugalls; but the mountaines and high places of the Island are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bin slaues to the Portugals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desert places of the Island, where they abide with great strength. The Isle of S. Jago.

Being before this island, we espied two ships under sayle, to the one of which wee gaue chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and she yeelded unto us good store of wine: which prize our Generall committed to the custodie of Master *Doughtie*, and reteining the pilot, sent the rest away with his pinesse, giuing them a butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed. A prize, and *Nuno da Silva*, a Portugall pilot taken.

The same night wee came with the island called by the Portugals, *Ilha del Fogo*, that is, the Burning Island: in the north side whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayde to be of sulphure; but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious island, because the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there. The Isle of Fogo.

Upon the south side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweete island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke upon, in respect whereof they call it *Ilha Braua*, that is, the Brave Island. From the bankes thereof into the sea doe run in many places reasonable streams of fresh waters, easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported that ground was neuer found in that place; so that the tops of *Fogo* burne not so high in the ayre, but the roots of *Braua* are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of three weekes, but yet subject to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as dolphins, bonitos, and flying fishes; whereof some fell into our shippes, wherehence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape *Verde*, wee sayled 54 dayes without sight of land; and the first land that we fell with was the coast of *Brasil*, which we saw the fift of April, in the height of 33 degrees towards the pole Antarctike; and being discouered at sea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made upon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they use coniurations, making heapes of sande and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay upon their coast, not onely sands may be gathered together in shoalds, in euery place; but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.

Aprill.

33 degrees.

The seuenth day, in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne, and thunder, wee lost the *Canter*, which we called the *Christopher:* but the eleuenth day after, by our General's great care in dispersing his ships, we found her againe, and the place where we met our Generall called the Cape of *Joy*, where euery ship tooke in some water. Heere we found a good temperature and sweete ayre, a very fayre and pleasant countrey, with an exceeding fruitfull soyle, where were great store of large and mightie deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but, trauelling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our ships, we wayed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured ourselues betweene a rocke

The *Cape of Joy.*

and the maine, where, by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe; and upon this rocke we killed for our prouision certaine sea-wolues, commonly called with us seales.

From hence we went our course to 36 degrees, and entred the great riuer of *Plate*, and ranne into 54 and 53 fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where wee filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall, finding here no good harborough, as he thought he should, bare out againe to sea the 27 of April, and in bearing out we lost sight of our flieboate, wherein Master *Doughtie* was; but we sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good bay, wherein were many, and the same profitable islands, one whereof had so many seales, as would at the least haue laden all our shippes; and the rest of the islands are, as it were, laden with foules, which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Their entrance into the riuer of *Plate*. Abundance of seales.

Our Generall, after certain dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues unto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him; but they would not receiue any thing at any man's hands, but the same must bee cast upon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very active.

The eighteenth day of May, our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of such ships as were absent, and therefore indeuouring to seeke the flieboate wherein Master *Doughtie* was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the *Marygold* and the *Canter* being imployed in that businesse, came unto us and gaue us understanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by seales, whereof we May.

slew to the number of 200 or 300 in the space of an houre.

The Flieboat cast off and burnt.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the flieboate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the lande set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, sauing only, about their waste, the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bow, which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer; and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a little distance from him and shared it with his fellow,—the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

The people of the countrey.

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediatly upon our setting foorth we lost our *Canter*, which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our Generall had her againe, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

The Cape of *Good Hope*.

June.

The next day after, being the twentieth of June, wee harboured ourselues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan *Port S. Julian*, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

Port S. Julian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went ashore to the maine, and in his companie *John Thomas*, and *Robert Winterhie*, *Oliver*, the master gunner, *John Brewer*, *Thomas Hood*, and *Thomas Drake*, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the countrey people, and *Robert Winterhie* hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a shoote of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narrowly.

In this port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of *M. Thomas Doughtie*, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by Master *Doughties* owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which, when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. *Doughtie* (as hee then in the presence of us all sacredly protested) was great; yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majestie, and of the honour of his countrey, did more touch him (as indeede it ought) then the priuate respect of one man: so that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order, as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in *England*, it was concluded that M. *Doughtie* should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he, seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. *Fletcher*, our minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall, and taken

his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company, perswading us to unitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage: and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the Communion, as Christian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his businesse.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

August. The 17. day of August we departed the port of *S. Julian*, and the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of *Magellan* going into the South Sea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The Streight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred the Streight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against us; so that some of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in some narow riuer or corner, or betweene some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much subiect), it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange maner, reaching themselues aboue their fellowes so high, that between them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the

southerly and easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

The bredth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places two leagues, and three leagues, and in some other four leagues, but the narowest place hath a league ouer. The breadth of the Streights of Magellan.

The 24 of August we arriued at an Island in the streightes, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in lesse then one day 3000, and victualled our selues throughly therewith. Abundance of foule in the Streight.

The 6. day of September we entred the South Sea at the Cape or head shore. September.

The seuenth day, wee were driuen by a great storme from the entring into the South Sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the streight: in which height, and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September, fell out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amende us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Bay (which we called the Bay of seuering of friends), wee were driuen back to the Southward of the streights in fifty-seuen degrees and a terce: in which height we came to anker among the Islands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their canoas, naked, and ranging 57 degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude.

from one Island to another to seeke their meat, who entred traffique with us for such things as they had.

We returning hence Northward againe, found, the 3. of October, three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible to report.

M. Winter separated and returned.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our consorts wherein M. *Winter* was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our company feared.

Thus being come into the height of the streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of *Chili* to lie as the generall maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of *Chili* hath not bene truely hitherto discouered, or at the least not truely reported for the space of twelue degrees at the least, being set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

The Isle La Mocha in 38 degrees and 30 minutes.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember with an Island called *la Mocha*, where we cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to us to the water side with shew of great courtesie, bringing to us potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vsed to shew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we think, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but

wayed anchor, and set sayle towards the coast of *Chili*, and drawing towards it, we mette neare to the shore an Indian in a canoa, who thinking us to haue bene Spaniards, came to us and tolde us, that at a place called *S. Iago*, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of *Peru*: for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us and brought us to the place, which is called the port of *Valparizo*. The Port of Valparizo in 33 degrees 40 minutes.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three negros, who thinking us to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcomed us with a drumme, and made ready a *bottija* of wine of *Chili* to drinke to us: but as soone as we were entred, one of our company, called *Thomas Moone*, began to lay about him, and strooke one of the Spanyards, and sayd unto him, *Abaxo Perro*, that is in English, Goe downe dogge. One of these Spaniards, seeing persons of that quality in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them under hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt ouer boord into the sea, and swamme ashore to the towne of *S. Iago*, to giue them warning of our arriuall. Wine of Chili.

They of the towne being not aboue nine housholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which wee entred, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher, his minister. The towne of S. Jago taken.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of *Chili*, and many boords of cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with us, and certaine of the boords to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one *Iohn Griego*, a Greeke borne, whom our Generall Wine of Chili.

Iohn Griego.

A pilot taken.

caried with him for his pilot to bring him into the hauen of *Lima*.

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of *Chili*, and 25,000 pezoes of very pure and fine gold of *Baldiuia*, amounting in value to 37,000 ducats of Spanish money, and aboue. So going on our course, wee arriued next at a place called *Coquimbo*, where our Generall sent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards, who came with 300 horsemen and 200 footemen, and slewe one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: we went on shore againe and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

Gold of *Baldiuia*.

Coquimbo in 29 degrees 30 minutes.

Tarapaza.

From hence we went to a certaine port called *Tarapaça*, where, being landed, we found by the sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of siluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spanish; we tooke the siluer and left the man.

Not farre from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8 *Llamas*, or sheepe of *Peru*, which are as bigge as asses; euery of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bag containing 50. li. weight of fine siluer: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of siluer.

Arica in 18 deg. 30 min.

Here hence we sailed to a place called *Arica*, and being entred the port we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of siluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brick-bat. In all these 3 barkes we found not one person: for they, mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which we would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in

number. But our Generall, contented with the spoyle of the ships, left the towne, and put off againe to sea, and set sayle for *Lima*, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

To *Lima* we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore; for the masters and marchants were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as we were. Our Generall rifled these ships, and found in one of them a chest full of royals of plate, and good store of silkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship, called the *Cacafuego*, which was gone towards *Paita*, and that the same shippe was laden with treasure: whereupon we staid no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the shippes in the hauen, we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speede we followed the *Cacafuego* toward *Paita*, thinking there to haue found her; but before we arriued there, she was gone from thence towards *Panama*, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her 80 li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great emerauds set in it, which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

Lima in 11 deg. 50 minutes.

From hence we departed, still following the *Cacafuego*, and our Generall promised our company, that whosoeuer could first descrie her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that *John Drake* going up into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordnance, and strake downe her misen;

The rich ship called the *Cacafuego* taken.

and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chests full of royals of plate, four score pound weight of golde, and sixe and twentie tunne of siluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called *Cape de San Francisco*, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from *Panama*.

Cape de San Francisco in 1 degree to the North.

The pilots name of this shippe was *Francisco*, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: *Senior* Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them; which the pilot, because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded unto, and gaue the other to the steward of our generals ships.

When this pilot departed from us, his boy sayd thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ship shall be called no more the *Cacafuego*, but the *Cacaplata*, and your shippe shall bee called the *Cacafuego:* which pretie speach of the pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to us, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this *Cacafuego*, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West, and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine *China*-dishes of white earth, and great store of *China*-silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed.

China silks and *Porcellan.*

The owner himselfe of this ship was in her, who was a Spanish gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a fawlcon of golde, with a great emeraud in the breast thereof, and the pilot of the ship he tooke also with him, and so cast the ship off.

Guatulco.

This pilot brought us to the hauen of *Guatulco*, the towne whereof, as he told us, had but seuenteen Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne-house, where we found a iudge sitting in iudgement, being associate with

three other officers, upon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the towne: both which iudges and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chief iudge to write his letter to the towne, to command all the townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ship.

And here one *Thomas Moone*, one of our company, tooke a Spanish gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugal pilot set on land.

At this place our General, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugal pilote, which hee tooke at the Islands of *Cape Verde*, out of a ship of S. *Mary* port of Portugall: and hauing set them ashore, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of *Canno*, where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graued her, and furnished our ship with water and wood sufficiently.

A ship with a gouernour for the Islands of *Philippinas*.

And while wee were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two pilots, and a Spanish gouernour, going for the Islands of the *Philippinas:* wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe.*

October. Certain Islands in 8 degrees.

After we had set saile from hence, wee continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of canoes, hauing in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them cocos

Strange canoas, like those of *Java*.

* Here is repeated verbatim the account of the country of Nova Albion—which, as we have already printed it in Appendix IV, No. 1, we have not thought it necessary to give it again here. The part omitted commences with the words "Our General at this place and time," etc., and ends with the words "to the Southwards of this place."

and other fruites. Their canoas were hollow within, and cut with great arte and cunning ; being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, hauing a prowe and a sterne of one sort, yeelding inward circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shels for a brauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse or bignesse of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kind of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

Islands. Leauing this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we lighted upon diuers others, some whereof made a great shew of inhabitants.

Wee continued our course by the Islands of *Tagulada*, *Zelon*, and *Zewarra*, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon.

Nouember. The 14. of November we fell with the Islands of *Maluco*, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Island of *Mutyr*, belonging to the King of *Ternate*, his Deputie or Vice-King seeing us at sea, came with his canoa to us without all feare, and came aboard ; and after some conference with our Generall, willed

The Isle of *Ternate*. him in any wise to runne in with *Ternate*, and not with *Tydore*, assuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require; for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom, if he once dealt, hee should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to *Tydore* before he came to *Ternate*, the King would haue nothing to doe with

us, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with *Ternate*, where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the King with a veluet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize, whereof he had good store, in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-King had bene with the King according to his promise, signifying unto him what good things he might receiue from us by traffique: whereby the King was mooued with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should haue what things he needed, and would require with peace and friendship, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Island, to bee at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates and canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at that present.

The King of *Ternate* offreth himselfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger beeing come to the court, was met by certain noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our ship, sent before four great and large canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads, from the one ende of the canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reedes for the same use, under which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the

The great and strange canoas of the King of Ternate.

rest were souldiers, which stood in comely order round about on both sides, without whom sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the canoas, did lie off from the side thereof three or foure yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of four score rowers.

These canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sword and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes, and arrowes: also euery canoa had a small cast vase, mounted at the least one full yarde upon a stocke set upright

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie; the great personages beginning w^t great grauitie and fatherly countenances, signifying that ye King had sent them to conduct our ship into a better roade.

The King of *Ternate* came to uisite Sir *Francis Drake.*

Soone after the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with six graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with marueilous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whom, as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send us such victuals as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call *Sagu*, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeers, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them store of rice, hennes, unperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call *Figo*, with store of cloues.

Sagu, a kinde of meale.

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne

aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, upon mislike conceiued of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his gentlemen to the court, to accompany the Kings brother, reseruing the Vice-King for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the Kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000 persons assembled.

A castle in *Ternate.*

The King being yet absent, there sat in their places sixty graue personages, all which were said to be of the Kings Counsel. There were besides four graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heades like the Turkes; and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of *Ternate*. There were also two Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The King at last came in, guarded with twelue launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with embossed gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their captaines, called *Moro*, rising to meete him, he graciously did welcome and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the countrey, but more sumptuously than the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all clothe of golde, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shooes, made of *Cordouan* skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers he had sixe very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with eight saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe three foote in length, by the which the page did hold

Romanes and Turks Ligiers *in Ternate.*

The maiestie of the King.

and mooue it. Our gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted back againe by one of the Kings Counsell.

Ternate the chiefest of the *Maluco*-isles.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of *Maluco*, and the King hereof is King of seuentie Islands besides. The King with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine new Moones, with fasting: during which fasts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

After that our gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere, by the fauour of the King, receiued all necessary things that the place could yeeld us, our General, considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, set out of the Island, and sayled to a certaine little Island to the Southwards of *Celebes*, where we graued our ship, and continued there in that and other businesses twenty-six dayes. This Island is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very straight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in *England*. Amongst these trees night by night through the whole land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whose body beeing no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of bats, as bigge as large hennes; of crayfishes also heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for four hungry stomacks at a dinner, beeing also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like conies.

A little Island to the Southward of *Celebes*.

Fiery worms.

Bats.

Crauishes.

When wee had ended our business here, we waide and set saile to runne for the *Malucos;* but having at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much dif-

ficultie wee recovered to the northward of the Island of *Celebes*, where, by reason of contrary winds, not able to continue our course to runne westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoalds which lie off and among the Islands; whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and lives. For of all other dayes, upon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579, we ranne suddenly upon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to escape the danger; but our Generall, as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God, so now he continued in the same; and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he and we did our best indevour to save ourselves, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared ourselves most happily of the danger.

Januarie in anno 1579.

Their danger upon a rocke.

We lighted our ship upon the rockes of three tunne of cloves, eight peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes; and then the winde (as it were in a moment, by the speciall grace of God) changing from the starreboard to the larboard of the ship, we hoised our sailes, and the happy gale drove our ship off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts, for which we gave God such prayse and thanks, as so great a benefit required.

Cloues.

The helpe of a current in the deliuerie.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Island of *Barateue*, having in the meantime suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body and stature, and of a ciuill behaviour, iust in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry wayes, they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to releeue our wants in those things which their country did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities; euery man having some-

Februarie.

Barateue Island.

thing or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. upon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest thereof to our estimation waied two ounces apiece.

Linnen-cloth good marchandize.

With this people linnen-cloth is good merchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both rich and fruitfull; rich in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Nutmegs and long pepper growing in *Barateue.*

Their fruits be diuers and plentiful: as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sorts; and among all the rest, we had one fruite, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a bay berry, hard of substance and pleasant of taste, which being sodden becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruits and spices, so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne countrey of *England*, we happened upon no place (*Ternate* onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Commendation of the Islands of *Barateue.*

At our departure from *Barateue*, we set our course for *Iaua maior*, when arriving, we found great courtesie and entertainment. This Island is governed by 5. Kings, whom they call *Raiah*: as *Raiah Donaw*, and *Raiah Mang Bange*, and *Raiah Cabuccapollo*, which liue as hauing one spirite and one minde.

Iaua maior.

Red and greene cloths much esteemed.

Of these five we had foure a shipboard at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene; their upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as do the *Maluccians*. From the middle downward

they weare a pintado of silke, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The *Maluccians* hate that their women should bee seene of strangers; but these offer them of high courtisie, yea the kings themselves. The manners of the people of *Jaua.*

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assembly: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made three foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become; so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste and nourishing to nature. A strange fashion of boyling rice.

Not long before our departure, they tolde us, that not farre off were such great ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our captaine would stay no longer.

From *Jaua Maior* we sailed for the cape of *Good Hope,*

which was the first land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, untill we came to *Sierra Leona*, upon the coast of *Guinea:* notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

The Cape of *Buena Esperanza* not so dangerous as the Portugals haue giuen out.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

Sierra Leona.

From thence we continued our course to *Sierra Leona*, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued 22. of July, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of elephants, oisters upon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the oister suffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

Oister-trees.

We arriued in *England* the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Jaua *at the time of our English mens being there.*

Raia Donaw.
Raia Rabacapala.
Raia Bacabatra.
Raia Tymbanton.
Raia Mawgbange.
Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of JAUA, *learned and obserued by our men there.*

Sabuck, silke.
Sagu, bread of the countrey.
Larnike, drinke.
Paree, ryce in the huske.
Braas, sodden ryce.
Calapa, cocos.
Cricke, a dagger.
Catcha, a looking glass.
Arbo, an ore.
Vadas, a goate.
Cabo, golde.
Gardange, a plantane.
Hiam, a henne.
Seuit, linnen cloth.
Doduck, blew cloth.
Totopps, one of their caps.

Gula, blacke sugar.
Tadon, a woman.
Bebeck, a ducke.
Amiange, a deere.
Popran, oyntment.
Coar, the head.
Endam, raine.
Jonge, a shippe.
Chay, the sea.
Lapelo, ten in number.
Dopolo, twentie.
Treda, no.
Lau, understand you.
Bayer, goe.
Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Suda, ynough.

[HAKLUYT—*Voyages*, vol. iii, pp. 730-742.]

1579. III. *The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot, called* Nuno da Silua, *for the Vice-roy of New* Spaine, *the* 20. *of May in the yere of our Lord* 1579, *in the citie of* Mexico, *from whence it was sent to the Vice-roy of the* Portugall-Indies: *wherein is set downe the course and actions passed in the Voyage of* Sir Francis Drake, *that tooke the aforesayd* Nuno da Silua *at* S. Jago, *one of the Islands of* Cabo Verde, *and caried him along with him through the Streights of* Magellan, *to the Hauen of* Guatulco, *in Newe* Spaine, *where he let him goe againe.*

Nuno da Silua, borne in Porto, a citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, saith, that hee departed out of his house in the beginning of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his course to *Cabo Verde*, or the greene Cape, where he anchored with his shippe close by the hauen of the Island of *Sant Jago*, one of the Islandes of *Cabo Verde* aforesayde, beeing the nineteenth of Januarie in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came sixe ships, which seemed to be Englishmen, whereof the admirall boorded his ship, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ship, bringing him in the boate aboord the admirals shippe, leauing some of his best men aboord his ship; and although the fortresse of the Island shot foure or fiue times at them, yet they hurt not the Englishmen: who hauing done, set saile from thence to the Island of *Braua*, taking with them the ship of the sayd *Nuno da Silua:* being there, they filled certaine uessels with

fresh water: from thence, holding their course inward to sea, hauing first with a boat set the men of *Nuno da Siluas* ship on land, onely keeping *Nuno da Silua* in his ship, as also his ship with the wines that were therein. And *Nuno da Silua* saith, the cause why they kept him on boord was, because they knew him to be a pilot for the coast of *Brasilia*, that hee might bring them to such places in those countreys as had fresh water.

Being put off from the Island of *Braua*, they helde their course to the land of *Brasilia*, which they descried upon the first of Aprill, under the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in fresh water, they helde on their course to *Rio de la Plata*, that is the riuer of siluer, *Rio de Plata.* lying under fiue and thirtie degrees, little more or lesse: where they went on land, and prouided themselues of fresh water.

From thence they helde on their course till they came under nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and being there, they left two of their sixe shippes behinde them, and sailed but foure in companie (that of *Nuno da Silua* being one) till they came to the Bay called *Baya de las Islas*, *Bay de las Islas.* that is, the Bay of the Islands, lying under nine and fortie degrees, where it is sayde, that *Magellan* lay and wintered there with his shippe, when hee first discouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of June they entred, and there ankered so close to the land, that they might send to it with a harquebuse shot: and there they sawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with skinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the rest of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being subtill, great, and well formed people, and strong and high of stature: where sixe of the Englishmen went on land to fetch fresh water, and before they left on land, foure of the Indians came unto

their boate, to whome the Englishmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drinke, they departed thence: and going somewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and sayde: *Magallanes, Esta he minha Terra,* that is, *Magallanes,* this is my countrey; and because the Englishmen followed them, it seemed the Indians fledde upward into the land, and beeing somewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes slewe two of the English shippers, one being an Englishman, the other a Netherlander: the rest came backe againe and saued themselues in the boate, wherewith they presently put off from the shore. Here they stayed till the seuenteenth of August, upon which day they set saile, running along by the coast, about a league and a halfe from the land (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fiue and twentie fathome deepe), and were about foure or fiue dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight: but because the wind was contrary, they stayed till the 24. of August before they entred.

The description of the Streight of *Magellan.*

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both sides being bare and flatte land: on the North side they sawe Indians making great fires, but on the South side they saw no people stirring. The foure and twentieth day aforesayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an East Northeast wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath some boutes and windings, among the which there is one so great a hooke or headland, that it seemed to runne into the other land: and there it is lesse then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth straight out againe. And although you finde some crookings, yet they are nothing to speake of.

The issue of the Streight lieth Westward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the first eight leagues after you enter is low flat land, as I sayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you find the streame to runne from the South sea to the North sea.

And after they began to saile in with the East Northeast wind, being entred they passed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and because the high land on both sides lay couered with snow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their course a harque-buse-shot in length from off the North side, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I said before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both sides being full of trees, some of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the sea side, in some places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they sawe not any great riuers, but some small riuers that issued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South side they saw certaine Indian fishermen in their *Canoas* or skiffs, being such as they saw first on the North side, but more people they saw not on the South side.

Being out of the Streight on the other side, upon the sixt of September of the aforesaid yeere, they held their course Northwest for the space of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeast wind, that by force draue them West south west, which course they held for the space of ten or twelue dayes with few sailes up: and because the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their sailes, and lay driuing till the last of September.

The 24. day of the same moneth hauing lost the sight of one of their shippes, which was about an hundred tunne, This was the *Elizabeth*, M. *John Winters* ship.

then againe they hoised saile because the winde came better, holding their course Northeast for the space of seuen dayes, and at the ende of the sayde seuen dayes, they had the sight of certayne Islands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northwest: whereupon they sailed West Southwest.

The next day they lost sight of another ship of their company, for it was very foule weather, so that in the ende the admirals shippe was left alone, for the ship of *Nuno da Silua* was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entred into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were under seuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen of an Island, and ankered about the length of the shot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they stayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their course Northward for the space of two daies, and then they espied a small inhabited Island, where being arriued, they stroke sailes, and hoised out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and seales.

They were driuen unto 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The next day they set saile againe, holding their course North Northeast and North, to another Island lying fiue or sixe degrees from the firme land, on the North side of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Island is small and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Island being altogether possessed and inhabited by them, where they hoysed out their boate, wherein the admirall and twelue Englishmen entred, going to fetch fresh water, and to seeke for victuals: and being landed upon the Island, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spanish sheepe, and a little maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and because it was late, they returned againe unto their ship, without doing any other thing for that day.

The Isle of *Mocha* in 38 deg. 30 min.

The next day the said Captaine with the aforesaid twelue men, being harquebusiers, rowed to land againe, and set two of their company on shore with their vessels to fetch fresh water, and by the place where they should fill their water there lay certaine Indians secretly hidden, that fell upon the two Englishmen and took them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were so assailed with stones and arrowes, that all or the most part of them were hurt, the captaine himselfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another arrow in the head, whereby they were constrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came so neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they set saile againe, running along the coast with a South winde, sailing so for the space of sixe dayes, passing by the hauen called *Sant Jago*, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fishing in a *canoa*, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their shippe called *Felippe*, and he spake Spanish: he gaue the English Captaine notice of a certaine shippe that lay in the hauen of *Sant Jago*, which they had left six leagues behind them: with that intelligence, the Indian being their guide, the next day they set saile and went to the aforesayd hauen of *S. Jago*, and entring therein, they tooke the said shippe, wherein they found a thousand seuen hundred and 70 *Botijas* or Spanish pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine sackes with meale, with whatsoever they could find; they tooke likewise the ornaments and the reliques out of the church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforesayd shippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and so departed from that hauen, which lyeth under 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coast till they came under one and thirtie, and

Sir *Francis Drake* wounded.

The hauen of *S. Jago* in 32 degrees and a halfe

thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had appointed to meete, and there to stay for ech other, if by tempest or foule weather they chanced to be separated, and so loose eche others company.

And comming under thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at sixe fathome deepe, the shot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer against a riuer, where they tooke in sixe pipes of fresh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they set twelue men upon the land, and being busied in filling of their water, they espied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many footemen, but they had no sooner espied them, but they presently entred into the boat, and escaped away, loosing but one man.

The same night they set saile againe with both their ships, running along the coast about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in some fresh water, but because they perceiued certaine horsemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their course along the coast for the space of 30 leagues, where they entred into a desert or unhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they saw people upon the shore, and there they made out a smal pinnesse, the peeces whereof they brought ready framed out of *England*, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boatesman called *John the Greeke* (being Master of the ship which they had taken in the hauen of *S. Jago*), wherewith they went to see if they could find the two shippes that they had lost by stormie weather, as I sayd before: and likewise thinking to goe on land to fill certaine vessels with fresh water, they durst not venture, for they saw people on all sides of the shore: so that in the

ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ships: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ship, and new dressed and rigged her: which done, they put a small peece of ordinance into the pinnesse, wherewith they set saile againe, following on their course.

Hauing sailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Island lying about the shotte of a base from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fishermen in two *canoas*, who told them that on the firme land they might haue fresh water; but they, understanding that there was not much, and that it was somewhat within the land, would not spend any time about it, but set saile againe, leauing the fishermen with their *canoas*, following on their course along by the shore.

The next day being somewhat further, they espied certaine Indian fishermen that were upon the land in their houses, which the English captaine perceiuing, presently entred into his pinnesse and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the said fishermen, taking with him halfe of the fish that lay packed upon the shore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty they came on board againe.

The next day following they saw a barke laden with fish that belonged to the Spaniards, with four Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fish they tooke, and bound the Spanish ship to their sterne, and so drewe it after them, leaving the said Indians within it, who, by night, unbound the barke and secretly made away with the barke and fish, and were no more seene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinnesse, and because he saw certaine houses upon the shore, he made thither, and being on land he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leaving the other behind, and there he found three thousand pezos of siluer (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight), and seuen Indian sheepe and henns, and tooke al whatsoever they found, wherewith they departed from thence, following on

their course. And two days after they came to the hauen
Arica. called *Arica*, where they found two ships, the one laden with goods and Spanish wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred *Botijas*, or Spanish pots with wine, and out of the other seuen and thirty barres of siluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on shore (with two barks that they found in the said hauen, with about seuen and thirty harquebuses and bowls) they perceiued on the land certaine horsemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a *Negro* that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

The next day in the morning the burnt the ship, that was laden with the Spanish wares, and tooke the other with them; passing forward with it on their course, the Captaine sailing along the shore with his pinnesse, and the ship keeping about a league from him to seaward, to seeke for a ship whereof they had intelligence, and hauing in that maner sailed about fiue and forty leagues, they found the ship that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertised of an English pirate or sea-rouer, and had discharged eight hundred barres of siluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which siluer belonged to the King of *Spaine*, of the which siluer the Englishmen had receiued some intelligence, but they durst not go on land, because there were many Indians and Spaniards that stood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ship but three pipes of water: the ship they tooke with them, and being about a league in the sea, they hoysed up all her sailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ship that they had taken in *Arica*, as also the other of *Saint Jago*, which likewise they let drive, following on their course with their owne ship and the pinnesse.

Calao de Lima. Being seuen or eight leagues from the hauen of *Calao de Lyma*, they espied three ships, and boording one of them, they took three men out of her, and so held on their course

towards *Caloa de Lyma*, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, sailing in betweene all the ships that lay there, being seuenteene in number: and being among the ships, they asked for the ship that had laden the siluer, but when answere was made them, that the siluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ships, and the masts of two of the greatest ships, and so left them. At the same time there arrived a ship from *Panama* laden with wares and merchandize of *Spaine*, that ankered close by the English ship, which was, while the English Captaine sought in the other ships for the siluer. Assoone as the ship of *Panama* had ankered there came a boat from the shore to search it: but because it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and coming to the English ship, they asked what ship it was: whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners (by the English Captaines commandement) answered and said it was the ship of *Michael Angelo*, that came from *Chili*: which they of the boat hearing, sent a man on boord, who climing up, light upon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and presently stepped backe againe into the boat (because the shippes that lay there, and that sailed in those countreys, used to carry no great shot) and therewith they were abashed, and made from it: which the ship of *Panama* hearing, that was newly come in, shee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables shee put to sea, which the Englishmen perceiving, shipped certaine men in their pinnesse, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her strike, which they of the ship refused to doe, and with a harquebuse shot killed one of the Englishmen, wherewith they turned again into their shippe, and presently set saile, following after the ship, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the shippe perceiving, hoysed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leaving the shippe with all the goods, which the Englishmen presently tooke, and with her sailed on their course.

The next day they saw a boat with sailes making towards them, whereby they presently mistrusted it to be a spie; and not long after they perceiued two great ships comming towards them, which made the English thinke they came to fight with them; whereupon they let the ship of *Panama* driue, therein leauing *John the Greeke*, with the two men that they had taken the same day that they entred into the *Calao de Lyma*, as I sayde before, and presently hoysed all their sailes, and sailed forward, not once setting eye againe upon the aforesayde ships, for they made towards the ship of *Panama*, which the Englishmen let driue. From thence they sailed againe along the coast, following on their course: and hauing sailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards *Lyma*, laden with wares and merchandises of the countrey, from whence the Englishmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of siluer, and asked the pilote, being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ship, that they understood should be laden with siluer; but the one pilote saide he met her not, and the other said he saw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ship, but to the pinnesse wherein the Captaine sailed, for the pinnesse ranne close by the shore, and the ship kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their course.

Payta. Two dayes after they came to the hauen called *Payta*, where they found a ship laden with Spanish wares, which the pinnesse boorded, and tooke without any resistance: for assoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Englishmen, they presently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the sea, none staying in the shippe but the Master, Pilote, and some *Negros*, out of the which shippe the Englishmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes, and a hogge, and so sailed forward with the shippe: but being about two harquebuse shot to seaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it; and asking after the ship which they sought for, they told them that about two dayes before she

departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their course, and before night they met with a ship of *Panama*, which they presently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro; and so left it, holding on their course.

The next day being the first of Februarie, they met another ship that sailed to *Panama*, laden with fish and other victuals, and fortie barres of siluer, and some gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and sent the passengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land. The next day they hanged a man of the ship, because hee would not confesse two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ship driue, following on their course.

The first of March, towards noone, they espied the ship laden with siluer, being about foure leagues to seaward from them: and because the English ship was somewhat heauie before, whereby it sailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of *Botijas* or Spanish pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the sterne of the ship to make her sayle the better: and the shippe that sayled towardes *Panama* made towards the English shippe to know what shee was, thinking it to bee one of the shippes that used to saile along the coastes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the English captaine badde them strike, but the other refusing to doe it, with a great peece he shotte her mast ouerboord, and hauing wounded the master with an arrowe, the shippe presently yeelded, which they tooke, and sayled with her further into the sea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

A pretie deuice to make their ship saile more swiftly.

The third day being out of sight of the land, they beganne to search the ship, and to lade the goods out of her into their ship, which was a thousand three hundred barres or peeces of siluer, and foureteene chestes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely

the passengers sayd that there was great store, and that three hundred barres of the siluer belonged to the king, the rest belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ship with the men saile on their course, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, so that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the sixt of March, and from thence they held their course towards the land of *Nicaragua*.

Nicaragua.

The Island of *Canno.*

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they descried land, not being very high, being a small Island two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a small Bay, wherein they ankered at fiue fathome deepe close by the land, and there they stayed till the twentie day. Upon the which day there passed a frigate close by the Island, which with their pinnesse they followed, and taking her, brought her to the English ship, which frigat was laden with *Salsaperilla*, and *Botijas* or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The English captaine went on boord, and cast the *Salsaperilla* on the land, leauing all the rest of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that so he might lay his ship on shore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or four and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouision of wood and fresh water, they held on their course along by the coast, sayling Westward, taking the sayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing sailed two dayes they tooke their men out of her, and set them in the pinnesse, among the which were foure sailers, that meant to sayle to *Panama*, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of *Spaine*, sent to the gouernour of the *Philippinas*, as also the sea-cards wherewith they should make their voyage, and direct themselues in their course.

The first sight of *Nueua Espanna.*

They calke and trimme their ship at the Isle of *Canno* ouer against *Nicaragua.*

Sea-charts of the South Sea taken.

And so sailing untill the sixt of Aprill, about euening they discouered a shippe that held two leagues to seaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and suddenly fell upon her while her men slept, and presently made the men enter into their ship, among the which was one *Don Francisco Xarate.* Which done, they followed on their course with the sayd ship, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewise tooke a *negro* out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ship and men goe whether they woulde, setting therein the two saylers that should goe for *China,* which they had taken in the frigate, keeping oncly one sailer to shewe them where they should find fresh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie vessels with them to fill with water, and so kept on their course to the hauen of *Guatulco,* where they put in, being upon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they stayed there till the sixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they set sayle, holding their course westward, and an houre or two before they let *Nuno da Silua* goe, putting him into another ship, that lay in the hauen of *Guatulco.*

They arriue at *Guatulco.* Aprill 13. *Stilo nouo.*

Nuno da Silua set on land.

From thence forward the Englishmen passed on their voyage, to the Islands of *Malucos,* and from thence they passed by the *Cape de Buena Esperança,* and so to *England,* as it is well knowen, so that this is onely the description of the voyage that they made, while the said pilote *Nuno da Silua* was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by Sir *Francis Drake* (being in the South sea of *New Spaine,* in his ship called *The Pellican* or the *golden Hinde* with the ship of *Sant John de Anton,* which hee had taken) to his companions in the other shippes that were of his company, and by foule weather separated from him, as I said before: The contents whereof were these:

Master *Winter*, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meete with this ship of Sant *John de Anton*, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise giuen unto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ship of *Sant John de Anton*, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfie againe, and command your men not to doe any hurt: and what composition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into *England* I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I haue promised to be: Beseeching God, the Sauiour of all the world, to haue us in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praise and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you M. *Winter*, but also to M. *Thomas*, M. *Charles*, M. *Caube*, and M. *Anthonie*, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed us, and am in good hope, that we shal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe us in aduersitie, desiring you for the Passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preserue you from all danger, and bring us to our desired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory and praise for euer and euer. Amen. Your sorowfull Captaine, whose heart is heauy for you.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

[HAKLUYT—*Voyages*,
vol. iii, pp. 742-748.]

IV. *The Voyage of* M. JOHN WINTER *into the South sea by the Streight of* MAGELLAN, *in consort with* M. FRANCIS DRAKE, *begun in the yeere* 1577. *By which Streighte also he returned safely into* ENGLAND *the second of June* 1579, *contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards, which gaue out, that the said passage was not repassedable. Written by* EDWARD CLIFFE, *mariner.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577, the 19. of September, there went out of the riuer of *Thamis*, ouer the lands ende, one good and newe ship called the *Elizabeth*, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse, being 12 tunnes in burthen, called the *Benedict*. The sayd ship with her pinesse arriued at *Plimmouth*, in which hauen were three ships more; one called the *Pellican*, in burthen 120 tunnes, being admirall of the fleete; a barke called the *Marigold*, in burthen 30 tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary prouision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15. of Nouember, but were put into *Falmouth* by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to *Plimmouth* to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length, the 13 of December, wee set forward from thence upon our voyage.

They set forward from *Plimmouth* the 13. of December.

The fiue and twentie of December we had sight of *Cape Cantin*: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32 degrees and 30 minutes, upon the coast of *Barbarie*, neere to a towne

Cape Cantin.

called *Asaphi.* The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape South-southwest about eighteen leagues, wee found a little Island called *Mogador,* an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we understood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing five fathomes of water fast by the rocks, entring in upon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine, seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde us, whom our Generall M. *Francis Drake* espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly understoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting up their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe upon the ground, as though they had sworne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

Mogador an Island on the Coast of *Barbary.*

These two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall, went to shore againe, and our man came aboard also. But the craftie slaues hauing deuised to betray us, came the next day along the sea side with certaine camels, as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with us, to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore, one of our men, more hastie then wise, lept on shore, whom the *Moores* immediately tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee set up a pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought four loose out of *England,* which

Foure loose Pinesses brought out of *England.*

being finished the last of December, wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in; for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuit, not inhabited, and hath infinite number of doues upon it.

At sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Januarie, 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course South Southwest, till on the 7 of Januarie, we came as high as *Cape de Guer*, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new pinnesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boats, called *Cantars*. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouth-west, carrying the sayd *Cantars* along with us, till the 10. of the sayd moneth, at which time we found ourselues in 27 degrees 4 min., being 10 leagues West Southwest from *Cape Bojador*, which lieth on the maine land of *Africa*. From thence we ran South and by West, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of *Rio del Oro*, where our pinnesse took a Portugall carauel. The 15, the *Marigold* took a carauel about *Cape de las Barbas*. And thence we ran along the coast, being low sandie land, till wee arriued at *Cape Blanco*. This *Cape* sheweth itselfe like the corner of a wall upright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes, where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers, being the guards of the South pole, he raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be four starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken when it is directly under the uppermost; and being so taken, as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so many you are to the Northwards of the *Equinoctiall*: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the *Equinoc-*

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees 4 min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees 30 min.

tiall. And if you finde it to be iust 30, then you be directly under the line.

Within the sayd *Cape Blanco* wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. Wee brought this ship, with all the rest which we had taken before, into our harbour, five leagues within the *Cape*, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of January, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one *Cantar*, for which our Generall gaue them the *Benedict.* In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, untill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole raysed 15 degrees 15 min., hauing the winde Northeast or East Northeast, which is common on that coast; for it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore, and we kept the sayd course, untill wee came neere the Island *Bonauista*, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till daylight the 27 of Januarie, from which time wee ran South Southwest, untill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approached neere the Island of *Mayo*, being high and hilly land, sauing that the North part of the island stretched out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker under the West part of this island the 28 day of Januarie, and stayed there untill the 30 of the same, during which time our Generall appointed M. *John Winter* and M. *Thomas Doughtie* to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house hauing a garden belonging to it, in which we found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds and melons, in the most dead time of our winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite *Cocos*, which was bigger then a mans head, hauing within the utter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certain nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is

The isle of *Maio.*

Ripe grapes in Januarie.

halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, maruellous comfortable. As we passed through this island, the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could have no talke with them. But we understood by the Portugals which came with us, that they were but seruants to those of *S. Jago*, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this Island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery mann aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to *Sant Iago* the same night, being ten leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitefull Island and well peopled. For wee sawe three townes on the shore: two of which shot at us as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the Iland, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This Island hath fifteen degrees in latitude.

From hence wee ran South South West to the Isle of *Fogo*, so called because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole Island being one high mountaine. Two leagues west from the Isle of *Fogo*, is another Island called *Braua*, where the sea is about 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing unto them our Pinnesse which we built at *Mogador*: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called *Nonnez de Silua*. The 2nd

The isle of Fogo.

Braua.

Nonnez de Silua.

of February wee set off from *Braua*, and directed our course South South East, running so untill the 9th of February, being within four degrees of the *Equinoctial*: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showers of raine.

The 17th day wee were right under the line, which is the most feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we susteined such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stoue, or hote-house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediately they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within four degrees of the *Equinoctial*, untill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

Flying fishes.

Continuall raine at certaine seasons neere the *Equinoctial*.

From hence wee directed our course towards the South South West untill the 5th of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land. The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the *Equinoctial* towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about three of the clocke in the afternoone the same day. This lande is very lowe neere the sea; and hie mountaines up within the countrie.

Land in 31 degrees 30 min. to the South of the *Equinoctial*.

From hence we ran towardes the South South West, until the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little Island, lying neere the maine land of *Cape Sant Marie*, by which is the enterance into the riuer of *Plate*, being in 35 degrees of Southerly lati-

Cape *Sant Marie* at the mouth of the Riuer of *Plate*.

tude. Frō this Island wee ran seven or eight leagues along the maine, where we came to an Anker under a Cape which, our General called *Cape Joy*. Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the West South West, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously under the same for Southerly winds. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there untill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence we ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that wee had but three fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the lande which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of *Plate*, the 27 day. This land lyeth South South West and North North East, and is shold three or four leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

From hence we ran toward the South West, having much foule weather and contrary windes, until the 12 of May: and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about ten of the clock. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, *Cape Hope*. We came to anker there, about three leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our general went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the *Marigold* had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so took up the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a South East winde, that they were not able to recouer their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The *Prize* weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: The other stayed untill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

In the meane time while the *Marigold* rode under the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles upon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not understand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our generall went the next day to the same place againe: but hee had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as ostriches, and other sea foules, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our general brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, saue the *Prize*, and the fly-boat.

Ostriches and sea foules.

The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of *Cape Hope*, where we roade al that night. The next morning our generall weighed, and ran without the *Cape* to the Northwardes, and sent the *Elizabeth* towards the South to looke for the *Prize*: leauing the *Marigold* and the *Canter* to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day, being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which lost us the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour, and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The *Elizabeth* weighed and put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the *Prize*, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly-boat, and ran her upon the maine, where we broke her up for fire-wood.

The description of certaine Sauages.

In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey

people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselues in array very orderly, casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles, returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, shewing themselues very pleasant, insomuch that M. *Winter* daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine skinne, (wherein they wrap themselues) not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, sauing that they weare certaine roules upon their heads, whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangly and cunningly of a flint stone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are uery sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew about 200 in the space of one houre upon a litle island.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to *Cape Hope*, where we discharged our *Canter* and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with

our *Prize* the 19 of June, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day.

The port of *Sant Julian.*

This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which *Magellan* named *Port S. Julian:* for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against *Magellan,* and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore upon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the *Patagons* hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force our bowes, with the which shot his string broke: whereupon the *Patagons* presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. *Gunner,* who had a caliuer ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after, and with the other was buryed in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the *Patagons* had stript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes under his head, and so left him untouched, sauing that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I haue seene men in *England* taller than I could see any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would haue come thither so soone to haue disproued them in this and diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world.

Two of our men slaine by the *Patagons.*

The execution of M. *Thomas Doughtie.*

The last of June M. *Thomas Doughty* was brought to his answere, was accused, and convicted of certaine articles, and

by M. *Drake* condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of July, 1578, whose body was buried in the said Island, neere to them which were slaine.

We wintered in this port two moneths, during which time we had such weather as is commonly in *England* in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed up our ships, and made prouision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with three ships the 17 of August, about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seazed *Cape Victorie*, by the which Cape is the way into the South sea, called the *The streights of Magellan*, the first discouerer thereof. We found the mouth of the streights to be 52 degrees ½ Southwards of *Equinoctial*.

The entrance of the streight of *Magellan*.

In this streight we found the sea to haue no such current as some do imagine (following the course of the *primum mobile* from East to West), but to ebb and flow as ordinarily as upō other coasts, rising fiue fathoms upright. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth itselfe so far into the streights, that it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the West Northwest into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 degrees and ⅓. Thirtie leagues within the streights there be three islands. To the greatest our General gaue the name of *Elizabeth:* to the 2, *Bartholomew*, because we found it on *S. Bartholomews* day: the 3, he named *S. Georges* Island. Here we staied one day, and victualled our selues with a kinde of foule that is plentifull in that isle, and whose flesh is not farre unlike a fat goose here in *England:* they haue no wings, but short pineons, which serue their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat blacke, mixt with white spots under their belly and about their necke. They walke so upright, that a farre off a man would take them to be like children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the streight.

Abundance of Sea-foules on *S. Georges* Island in the streight of *Magellan*.

into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the Island is full. So that to take them we had staues with hookes fast the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head; for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of us was able to handle them aliue.

High hils on both sides of the streight.

The land on both parts is very high, but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themselues, whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of strange and unknown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by *Cape Deseado* into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about seuentie leagues, the winde turned directly against us, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs, which continued so more thē three weeks, that we could beare no saile; at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the South pole.

Cape Deseado where they entred into the South Sea.

The 15 of September the Moone was there Ecclipsed, and began to be darkened presently after the setting of the Sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then *Equinoctial vernal* in that countrey. The said Ecclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in *England*, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the *Meridian* of *England* toward the West.

They were driuen to 57 degrees Southward.

The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we lost the *Marigold*, the Generals shippe and the *Elizabeth* running to the East-ward to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we lost company of M. *Drake* the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of two dayes,

They loose M. *Drakes* company.

and made great fiers on the shore, to the end if M. *Drake* should come into the streights, hee might finde us. After, we went into a sound, where we stayed for the space of three weekes, and named it *The port of Health;* for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold, and euill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being twentie inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. *Winters* compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to haue winds to serue his turne for *Peru*, as also of M. *Drakes* safetie. So we came backe againe through the streights to *S. Georges* Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed. The voyage giuen ouer.

And thus wee passed by *Cape Victorie* out of the streights the 11 of Nouember, directing our course to the north-east, till the last of this moneth; what time wee arriued at an island which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of *Plate*. Upon this island there is such an infinite number of seales, as may seeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, some of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the presence of men: for the most of our men were upon the island, for the space of 15 dayes to set up a Pinnesse, during which time the seales would come and slepe by them, and rather resist our men, then giue place, unlesse mortall blowes forced them to yeelde. They returned out of the streight the 11 of Nouember, hauing entred into the South Sea the 6 of September.

When our Pinnesse was built, we went to another island, where wee did water, and afterward departed the first of Januarie 1579, and ran towards the north till the 20 of the said moneth, and then we arriued at an island which lieth on the coast of *Brasil*, neere to a towne called *sant Vincent*, inhabited by the Portugals. The sayd towne lyeth 24 degrees southwarde, almost under the *Tropicke of Capricone*. Here, *Sant Vincent* in *Brasil*, in 24 degrees.

by reason of foule weather we lost our Pinnesse, and 8 men in her, and neuer saw them since. Here also our ship was in great danger, by the meanes of a strong current, which had almost cast vs upon the shore before wee were aware, insomuch that we were constrained to anker in the open sea, and brake our cable and lost an anker, and presently let fal another anker; in weighing whereof our men were sore spoiled. For the capstan ranne about so violently with the rising of the shippe in the sea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were sore hurt. At last wee gote up our anker and set sayle, and ran into a place called *Tanay*, where we roade under an island and tooke in wood and water.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in *Brasil.*

And while we stayed here, there came three Portugals aboord vs in a *canoa*, to know what we would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made answere: that we were Englishmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled. For they saide that they neuer heard of any English ship to haue bene in that countrey before; and so they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to speake with the Gouernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another *canoa* aboord us with one Portugal, and al the rest naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two small oxen, one yong hogge, with certaine hennes: also pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them linnen cloth, combes, kniues, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouernour of the towne sent word that we should haue nothing, unlesse we would bring our shippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no case consent: for all their practise was to haue gotten us within their danger, neuertheles we came somewhat neere the towne with our

ship, as though we would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and set the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iland called the isle of *Sant Sebastian*, where wee tooke fish. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Brasillian, one of their slaues, had not bene. For he stole from them, and shewed unto vs by signes, that the Portugals were comming with their *canoas* to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they shewed themselues with twelue or sixteen *canoas*, some of them hauing fortie men in them. The same night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March, and had sight of the *Cape* of *Sant Augustine*, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had sight of an island lying within 3 degrees of the *Equinoctial*, called the isle of *Fernando de Loronha*. We crossed the *Equinoctial* the 13 of April, and had sight of the North starre the 19 of the sayd moneth.

The isle of *Sant Sebastian* about the *Tropicke* of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Augustine.

The isle of *Fernando de Loronha.*

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee sayled through the sea of *Weedes*, about one hundred leagues, being under the *Tropicke* of *Cancer*. From whence wee kept our course towards the North-east, untill wee had the pole raised 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne East Northeast.

The sea of *Weedes*, neere the *Tropicke* of *Cancer.*

The 29 we sounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze, hauing the North pole raysed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had sight of *S. Iues*, on the North side of *Corne-wall*, and the 2 of June, 1579, we arriued at *Ilfoord-combe* in *Deuon-shire*.

Their arriuall at *Ilfoord-combe* in *Deuonshire.*

And thus, after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing passed *The streights of Magellan* into the South Sea with our Generall M. *Francis Drake*, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward passing backe by the same streights againe, it pleased God to bring us safe into our owne natiue

countrey, to enioy the presence of our deare friendes and kinsefolkes; to whom bee prayse, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. *Amen.*

EDWARD CLIFFE,
Mariner.

[HAKLUYT—*Voyages*,
vol. iii, pp. 748-753.]

V. *Extracted from "A Discourse of the West Indies and South Sea, written by* Lopez Vaz, *a Portugal, borne in the citie of* Elvas, *continued unto the yere* 1587. *Wherein, among divers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Englishmen are truely reported, which was intercepted, with the author thereof, at the Riuer of Plate, by Captaine* Withrington *and Captaine* Christopher Lister, *in the fleete set foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of* Cumberland *for the South Sea, in the yeere* 1586."

.....The seeking of these Streights of *Magellan* is so dangerous, and the voyage so troublesome, that it seemeth a matter almost impossible to be perfourmed, insomuch that for the space of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; untill of late one *Francis Drake*, an Englishman (of whom I haue before spoken), seeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the *West Indies* to benefit himselfe, because of the galleys of *Cartagena* that kept the coast, determined to seeke the Streights of *Magellan*, and to passe into the South sea. And so hauing prouided two ships and three pinnesses in *England*, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Islandes of *Cape Verde*, tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof being a Portugal, called *Nuno da Sylua*, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance unto him in his voyage. And this which I shall here say, I had in writing of the Portugal pilot himselfe.

Sir *Francis Drakes* voyage about ye world.

From the Islands of *Cape Verde* the sayd *Francis Drake* sailed unto *Port Sant Julian*, where he wintered: and there also hee put to death a gentleman of his company, because hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accursed, for that *Magellan* likewise put some to death there for the like offence.

The cause why M. *Douty* was beheaded.

This *Francis Drake* putting out of the sayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South sea. And two dayes after there arose such a storme of Westerly windes (which are usual in those parts) that he lost his pinnesse, and his Vice admirall, master *John Winter*, was driuen backe againe into the Streights, who passing many dangers returned home into *England*. But *Francis Drake* himselfe ranne with this storme into seuen and fifty degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Island with a good harborough and fresh water, and stayed at the same Island two moneths to repayre his ships: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coast of *Chili* to an Island called *La Mocha*, where hee went on shore and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned unto his boate they shotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himselfe was wounded in the face.

Sir *Francis Drake* driuen into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

La Mocha in 38 deg. 30 min. ouer against the prouince of *Arauco*.

Going from thence hee passed by the towne of *Concepcion*, not knowing the place, and so to *Valparizo*, which is the port of *Sant Jago*, where hee found a ship laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her besides three score thousand pezos of gold, euery pezo being worth eight shillings sterling: and taking this ship with him hee went from thence to another port called *Coquimbo:* where seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calieuers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelue horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere unto them, the English-

The towne of *Concepcion*.

Valparizo.

The port of *Coquimbo* in 29 deg. 30 min.

men fled to their boates, but the horsemen ouertooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses, was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to *Sant Jago* that they were Englishmen, and how they had taken the shippe out of the harbour of *Valparizo:* whereupon they of *Sant Jago* sent a Post by land to giue warning unto them of *Peru.* Howbeit, by reason that the countrey betweene this place and *Peru* is not inhabited for the space of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with snowe lie in the way, the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this iourney, that Captaine *Drake* was upon the coast of *Peru* a moneth before the sayd Poste came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping.

Captaine *Drake* departing from *Coquimbo,* sayled to another porte not inhabited, where he set up a pinnesse. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte upon the coast of *Peru* called *los Pescadores:* and there hee landed, and in one of the fishermens houses, found of a Spaniards, three thousand pezos of siluer in little barres. *Los Pescadores.*

From hence he went to another port called *Arica,* which being the next towne to *Chili* that the Spaniards haue in all *Peru,* containeth an hundreth houses: and this is the porte where they discharge their merchandize that passe from *Lima* to *Potossi,* and to all other cities within the land; and likewise at this place they were wont to embarke all the siluer which they caried for Panamá. At this port of *Arica* he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pezos of siluer, which hauing taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to haue landed; but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since Captaine *Drake* was at this porte they carie their *Arica* in 18 deg.

siluer by land to *Lima*, and lade no more treasure here, but onely discharge the merchants goods that come from *Spaine* hither. Also they haue built a forte at this place for the better safety of the inhabitants, and haue planted it with ten pieces of ordinance, and euery summer there lie in garison an hundred souldiers besides the townesmen.

Chuli. From hence he sayled to another port called *Chuli:* in which port was a ship that had three hundred thousand pezos of siluer in barres: but they had sent horsemen from *Arica* to giue aduertizement of *Drakes* being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the sayd porte: whereupon the master of the shippe, hauing no leisure to carie his siluer on shore, was forced to throwe it into the sea in sixe fadome water, where his ship road, and so to runne on shore in the shippes boate. And Captaine *Drake* comming aboord the ship, was told by an Indian that the Master had throwen the siluer ouerboord. Wherfore, seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to towne, he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would have no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at *Sant Jago*, with neuer a man in her, which ship was neuer heard of after.

And so without staying any where he shaped his course for *Lima*, and comming to the harborough of *Lima* called *El Callao de Lima.* *El Callao*, being two leagues distant from *Lima* it selfe (for *Lima* standeth up into the land), hee arriued there one day before the newes of him was brought to *Lima*, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in also a ship from *Panamá* laden with merchandize, and he sent his pinnesse to take her: but the men forsaking the ship betooke them to their boate, and went on shore: and as the Englishmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein shot a piece, and slew one of Captaine *Drakes* men in the pinnesse. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnesse into the harbour among fourteene saile of ships that lay

there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him; wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, asking them if there were any ships gone for *Panamá*; for he knew wel, that the ships which goe for *Panamá* carie both siluer and gold, neither sought he for any thing else, for there were merchandize enough for him in those ships, if hee had bene desirous to haue had the same.

So they told him that three dayes past there was a ship gone for *Panamá*, which caried all the merchants siluer thither. Whereupon he presently set saile towards *Panamá*; for when he came into this port it was about midnight, so that the Spaniards could not see what ships he had. At last the newes came to *Lima* unto the Viceroy of *Peru*, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy and all the people were in great feare, lest some Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themselues in armes: and so the next morning himselfe, accõpanied with 2000 horsemen and footmen, came from the citie down to the waters side, and finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slaine, they knew them to be Englishmen: and then they were al in quiet, seeing it was but one ship, for as yet the ship lay becalmed three dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith prouided 2 ships with 200 men in them, to boord Captaine *Drake*, or els to burne his ship; and after the ships went 2 small pinnesses, because that if any of the ships should be sunke, they might saue the men. But it was a day and a halfe before these things could be made ready, and in the end going forth they found ye English ship still becalmed, and the calme was such that the Spaniards could not come at them. The same night, the wind blowing a fresh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and Captaine *Drake* set forward to *Panamá*.

The cause of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out. Then the Viceroy caused sixe pieces of ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the shortnesse of time; so with these pieces of ordinance, and three ships, and two hundred and fifty men in them, hee sent after Captaine *Drake*; who after he had winde stayed no where, nor took any more ships at all, notwithstanding he met with many comming from *Panamá* laden with merchandize; but still he inquired after the shippe that was gone to *Panamá* before him: of which ship he had sight about the Cape of *Sant Francisco*, the Master wherof was a Biskaine, called *Juan de Anton*: who seeing this ship of the Englishmens, thought that the Viceroy of *Peru* had sent him some message, and therefore strooke all his sailes; but so soone as hee might discerne the shippe some what better, hee would then faine haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coast, and then he began to hoise his sailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine *Drake*, because hee was within the reach of his great ordinance; for the Spaniards not hauing so much as a rapier to defend themselues, were soone constrained to yeelde. There was in this shippe aboue eight hundred and fifty thousand pezos of silver, and forty thousand pezos of gold, all which siluer and gold was customed; but what store of treasure they had besides uncustomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almost as much more as they pay custome for; otherwise the king would take it from them, if they should be knowen to haue any great summe; wherefore euery shippe carieth his bill of custome, that the king may see it. All this treasure that Captaine *Drake* tooke was merchants and other mens goods, sauing one hundred and eighty thousand pezos of the kings. He had also out of this ship good store of victuals with other necessaries, which were to bee caried for *Panamá*, and was fiue dayes taking out

Three ships sent after Captaine *Drake*.

A rich prize taken by Sir *Francis Drake* at Cape S. *Francisco*, situate one degree to ye north of the Equinoctial.

Read *Nuno da Sylua* concerning this treasure.

of such things as hee needed. This done he sayled from hence to the Coast of *Nueua Espanna* without going to *Panamá*. Surely this was a great plague of God iustly inflicted upon us for our sinnes; for the taking of these ships is an especiall cause of all the dangerous warres that are likely to ensue betweene *Spaine* and *England*.

Now the ships that were sent by the Viceroy of *Peru* from *Lima* after *Francis Drake*, arriued at *Cape Sant Francisco* twenty dayes after hee had taken the foresayd shippe, and had intelligence by a ship comming from *Panamá*, which they met at the sayd cape, that *Francis Drake* had taken the ship with siluer, and was not gone for *Panamá*. Whereupon the Captaine of the three ships, thinking that Captaine *Drake* had bene gone for the Streights of *Magellan*, directed his course that way to seeke him.

Captaine *Drake* carried from the coast of *Peru* eight hundred sixty sixe thousand pezos of siluer, which is as much as eight hundred sixty sixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, euery quintal being worth one thousand and two hundreth ducats of *Spaine*; all which summe amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thousand and two hundreth ducats. Besides this siluer hee caried away a hundred thousand pezos of gold, that is, ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thousand fiue hundreth Spanish ducats, which last summe amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thousand ducats: ouer and besides the treasure in the sayd ship which was uncustomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) consisting of pearles), precious stones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchase he sayled toward *Nueua Espanna*; and at an Island lying before that coast, called *The Island of Cano*, hee discharged all things out of his shippe and graued her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coast of *Nueua Espanna*, where hee tooke certaine ships laden with spices, silkes, and velucts, but no golde nor

The Island of *Cano*.

siluer, for there was none to bee had on this coast. And here at Guatulco he set on shore his Portugal-pilot, which he tooke at one of the Islands of *Cape Verde*. But what course he kept from this coast till he came into *England* I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall. . . . . .

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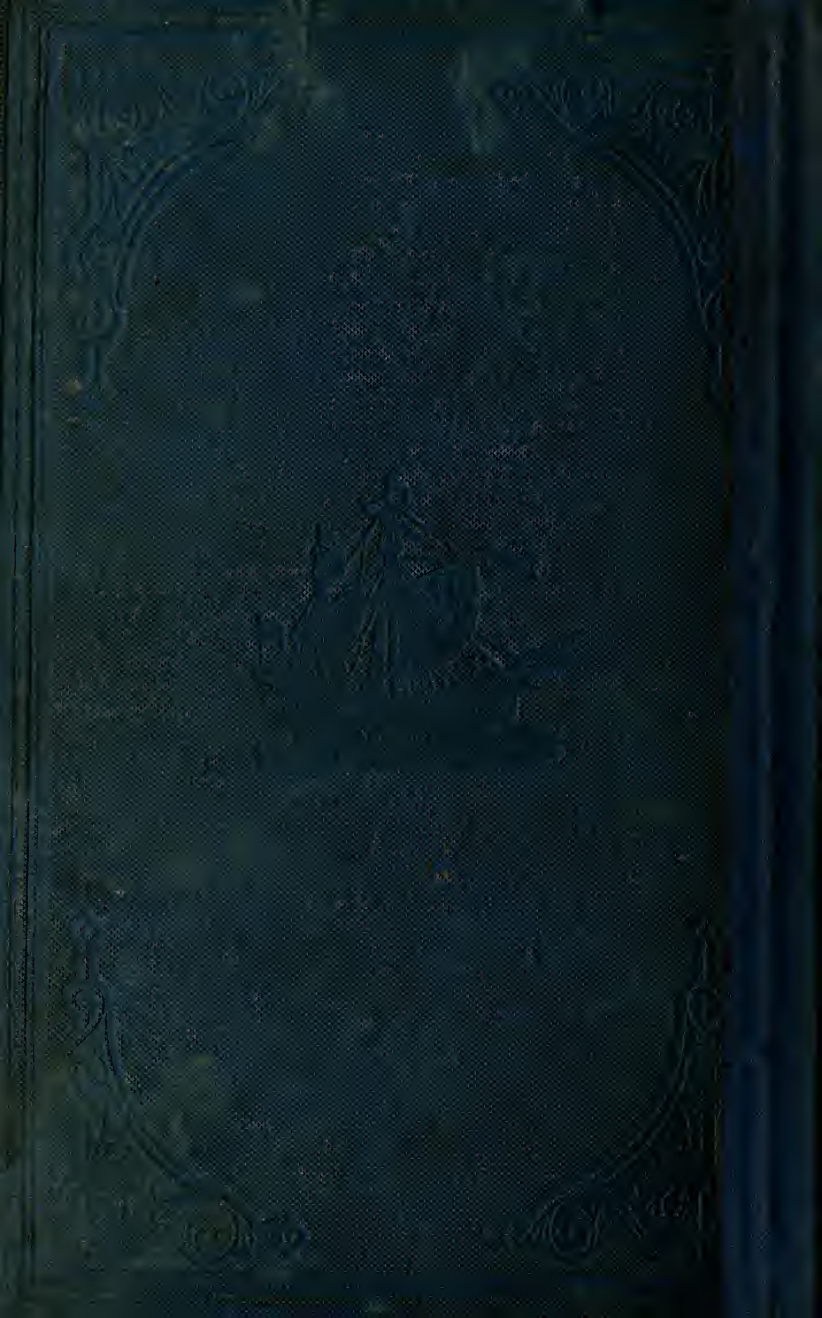
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